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ABSTRACT

This document contains 51 papers from a conference devoted to the theme of exploring spaces in adult education. The following are among the papers included: "Exploring Everyday Spaces: Women's Transitions from Welfare to Paid Work and Education" (Cynthia Lee Andruske); "Lost in Space? Re-valuing the Impact of Education Research" (Paul Armstrong); "Reclaiming and Problematising Self-Directed Learning as a Space for Critical Adult Education" (Stephen Brookfield); "Imposing Spaces in the Curriculum of Adult Learners: Models of the Same Players in Different Situations" (Darol M. Cavanagh); "Identity, Location and the Making of Adult Educators" (Clive Chappell); "Universities and Regional Partnerships for Learning: Reinterpreting the 'Local' in the Education of Adults" (Janet Coles and David Smith); "Space, Place and Subversion in University Adult Education and Continuing Education" (Ian Davidson); "Maintaining Spaces for Adult Learners in Science" (Jane de Rennes); "Back to the Land? Service and Self-Interest in Adult Education in Rural England 1920-1945" (Bernard Deacon and Lynne Thompson); "Adult Education and Social Movements: The Significance and Workings of Social Movements as a Part of the Civil Society, an Approach from the Angle of Adult and Continuing Education" (Luc Dekeyser); "Skills and Employability in the Spotlight: Exploring Official Discourses of Training"

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(John Field); "English, Afrikaans, Xhosa and Swetswana: Contested Language Space in a South African Adult Education Programme" (Jonathan Geidt); "Dis-stanced Learning: Adult Learners, Heidegger and Spatiality (Peter Gray); "Shaping Learning through Space: The Case of Outdoor Management Training" (Roger Hall and Caroline Rowland); "Doing the Right Thing: Positioning the Adult Learner through Discourses of Guidance and Counselling" (Roger Harrison); "Different Theatres, Different Audiences: The Arts and the Education of Adults" (David J. Jones); "Casual Literacy and Campaign Zeal: Environment and Conflict" (Jane Mace); "Sustaining Critical Communities: Stretching the Academy" (Ian Martin and Mae Shaw); "Orientation in Time: Leisure, Learning and the Life Course" (Jane McKie); "Troubling Spaces in the Analysis of Adult Education Policy" (Katherine Nicoll); "Accommodation for Adult Education" (Gerald Normie); "Going Back to Our Roots: The Role of Transformatory Education in the Battle against Social Exclusion" (Martin Notley and Helen M F Jones); and "Men on the Margins: Towards an Account of Men's Experience of Adult Education" (Rebecca O'Rourke). (Each paper contains references.) (MN)

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The Final Frontier: Exploring Spaces in the Education of Adults

edited by Barbara Merrill

SCUTREA 29th Annual Conference
Monday 5th to Wednesday 7th July 1999
University of Warwick

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Exploring everyday spaces: women's transitions from welfare to paid work and education

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Paper presented at SCUTREA, 29th Annual Conference, 5-7 July 1999, University of Warwick

Background and purpose

As we enter the twenty-first century, many Canadian provinces are streamlining their economies by reducing deficits, unemployment, and welfare roles. Provinces, such as Alberta and Ontario, are leading the country with welfare to work initiatives. Concurrently, business demands an educated, trained, skilled, and flexible workforce to meet the requirements of new technological innovations and globalization. This has placed increasing importance on a workforce with highly developed human capital. As Canada seeks to become more competitive in the global economy, federal and provincial governments maintain that all citizens should join these efforts. Thus, governments believe that for welfare recipients, 'The best social security is having a job' (*Improving social security*, 1994: 6).

Commencing in the early 1990s, the British Columbia (BC) government initiated policy measures to resolve BC's economic problems. The Government sought to provide greater access to education through creating more spaces in educational institutions, linking high schools to the workplace, retraining workers locally, and providing training, skills, and work experience to move welfare recipients into the work force (*Skills now*, 1994). The Government viewed welfare recipients, especially women, as skill deficient and dependent. To resolve this, government sought to 'fix them up' through training programmes so women could find well-paying jobs quickly. Following these initiatives, the government reclassified welfare recipients in policy documents to 'unemployed British Columbians' (*Skills now*, 1994) leading to mandatory orientation sessions to enrol potential recipients in job search, career, training, or employment programmes before they could apply for welfare benefits.

Although government attempts to meet women's needs through short-term education and training, they are not necessarily the panacea government believes them to be. Some single parent women are often worse off economically when they take low paying jobs without benefits. Furthermore, knowledge and skills acquired through self-directed learning women on welfare undertake in everyday spaces are not acknowledged by government, educators, and employers. The assumption seems to be that government agents, educators, and policymakers know best what women 'need' to 'fix them up'. Women on welfare often must convince government agents 'to give permission' for them to pursue educational and career goals they have researched within the community to meet their own goals and needs as single parents and women. The purpose of my research in progress is to explore women's transitions from welfare to paid work and education. Additionally, I am examining how women on welfare navigate social, institutional, and organizational structures in their everyday lives, contest these spaces, and learn to enact these transitions.

Theoretical framework

To understand how women navigate their transitions from welfare, I am drawing on Bourdieu's theory of social practice (1977). Bourdieu maintains that individuals tend to operate within dynamic fields of forces, symbolic sites, called fields where collective symbolic struggles occur for positions based on an individual's strategies for delegating or imposing decisions on others (symbolic violence) (Harker, Mahar and Wilkes, 1990). Within fields, individuals strategize for position and power depending upon their dispositions (habitus), social capital (networks), cultural capital (education), and symbolic capital (prestige). Bourdieu acknowledges the individual operates as a creative, social agent. Bourdieu (1977; Harker, Mahar and Wilkes, 1990) has explored individuals' social relations individually and collectively within 'fields of social practise' as they strategize to maximize their life opportunities. Bourdieu's theory can be applied to women's transitions from welfare to paid work and education, for he proposes a way of thinking to describe and analyze individuals holistically as social actors by examining the 'genesis of the person and of social structures and groups' (Harker, Mahar and Wilkes, 1990: 3). Furthermore, this theory offers a way to analyze practical life dialectically by taking into account 'the interplay between personal economic practice and the "external" world of class history and social practice' (p. 3). Thus, we may look at the relationship and interplay of social structures and the ability of individuals as agents to navigate through and within social spaces by examining the individual's patterns of practice in everyday life. Furthermore, Bourdieu proposes social relations link individuals to dynamic collectives of persons bound together in socio-structural relationships reflecting micro and macro structures within everyday worlds.

According to Lave and Wenger (1996), learning occurs in time, space, and social worlds and is socially situated. Thus, it has potential to transform an individual's meanings, understandings, and knowledge of the social world and relations with others. They endeavour to include social practice and participation into their definition to explain individuals as persons-in-the-world as members of socio-cultural communities to illustrate relationships between individuals, the world, communities, understanding, and knowledge. Lave and Wenger propose the theory of situated learning 'refers both to the development of knowledgeably skilled identities in practice and to the reproduction and transformation of communities of practice' (p. 15). Thus, situated learning theory provides a basis for understanding an individual's personal learning within social and community contexts. It illustrates a dynamic interplay between individuals and social groups and their influences on each other.

Research design

Since the purpose of my research is to explore women's transitions and learning within their everyday worlds, I am collecting data through thematic life history interviews. These include: welfare, education, work, family, transitions, learning, needs, and social justice. Life histories link women's lived and unlived lives, experiences, and relationships to social structures over time (Alheit, 1994; Bertaux, 1981). This approach highlights structural influences and women's abilities to plan their lives while instigating changes on institutions through dispositions they discover learning to navigate life experiences. Women's life histories provide a learning ground for their future transitions (Alheit, 1994). Individuals' life histories link their everyday experience and the ways they learn through their patterns of practice (Bertaux, 1981). These, plus social relations, are further connected to socio-structural relations of micro and macro structures. Institutionalized relations underpin socio-structural relations linked to individuals through social relationships bound across time, space, and embedded within historical time frames and events (Bertaux, 1981). Thus, life histories can link women's everyday subjective experiences to larger structural influences impinging upon them and may act as vehicles for individuals to observe self-transformation.

To date, I have interviewed at least once 14 single women on welfare, and I have returned their first transcribed interviews to them for review. I hope to interview 20 to 25 women. The women fall into three categories: women age 40 and older (5); single mothers with children under age seven (5); and women in their thirties (4). I chose the first two groups, for they often 'fall between the cracks of policy and programmes' since training and employment programme criteria are written primarily for women 19 to 25. Trainers seem to prefer individuals in their thirties, so I have included them for comparison. I will continue to select women through snowball sampling (one woman suggests another) until information becomes saturated. I am conversing with women, currently, at three month intervals for a year to watch their transitions as they learn to navigate various systems and structures affecting their paths from welfare.

All women, except one, are mothers of at least one child. Two women grew up in very affluent homes while others grew up in low income working families. Only two women were raised on welfare, and their mothers later left welfare for paid work. Before resorting to social assistance, three women indicated that their combined spousal income surpassed $120,000 a year. All but one woman have a GED (General Education Diploma) or Grade 12, and one woman is one credit short of Grade 12, but she has attended college. Currently, 6 are enrolled in college (3 have student loans, 2 have special opportunities grants, and 1 is on full disability); 2 are working; 2 had been working for two years, but they just lost their jobs; 4 are on assistance (2 have disability benefits).

Findings

Initial analysis indicates education and learning play a significant role in the everyday spaces women navigate while attempting to leave welfare. The findings relate directly to the conference themes of policy and practice, placing adult education, situating adult learning, time and place, living places, and contesting space.

Creating policy and practice

In 1993, to streamline and create a 'seamless learning system', the British Columbian government created a new Ministry of Skills Training and Labour by combining Social Services, the Ministry of Labour and Consumer Affairs, and the Ministry of Advanced Education Training and Technology. To ensure equity groups, such as women on welfare, had greater opportunities to enter the labour market, government policy goals sought to create greater access to training, more relevance to the workplace, less costly training programmes, and increased accountability for programming. Government now referred to women on assistance as 'unemployed'; thus, they could be reskilled through training and education programmes. Although government policy dictated that individuals enrol in training and education, women on assistance indicated they did not always qualify for educational or training opportunities.

As of August, 1998, individuals are now forced to register in career, training, or education programmes. Even then, government agents, trainers, and social workers may determine programmes they deem necessary for women's futures. As government policy mandates education and training, more private trainers and educational institutions have 'jumped' on the training bandwagon to access training dollars for this captive clientele. This has created more bureaucracies for women to navigate. Furthermore, adult educators appear to be compromising adult education principles by acting as government agents to ensure women attend information and training sessions to fulfil government requirements for welfare benefits. Often programmes are redundant, and some individuals attend a myriad of programmes to retain welfare benefits. Thus, policy and practice often direct women's choices for training, education, and career as they attempt to learn 'the rules of the game' within social spaces to meet their own needs and goals.

Placing adult education

Place may shape adult learning in a number of ways. First of all, in rural areas, women may find themselves unaffected by globalization since most employment tends to be service oriented and low paying. However, as some women indicate, they are indirectly effected, for training or education programmes may not be available in the rural areas. Moreover, transportation to large urban centres is often costly in terms of time and money, thus, limiting women's learning opportunities unless they have other ways of moving to larger centres.

Secondly, place may effect women's learning, for government agents in rural areas may have preconceived notions about women's abilities and their entitlement to short-term education and training for specific jobs. A number of women have told me that when they expressed a desire to enrol in particular training programmes in the past, they were told they did not meet the criteria. For example, government agents told one woman that she had been on welfare too short a time, so the single mother did not qualify for training. Another pointed out that she was told that the programme she had wanted would take her too long. Often, as women struggle to initiate changes in their lives, they are met with this type of symbolic violence (Harker, Mahar and Wilkes, 1990) as government agents impose their decisions on women by their specific interpretation of policy and rules. Thus, physical and mental spaces for learning may be imposed or ignored by government agents, educators, and trainers. Women may struggle to create learning spaces even though they are unaware of the learning they acquire within these spaces.

Finally, places effect learning through value attached to place or type of work. Often skills and knowledge acquired at home or through self-directed learning are not given credence or valued by educators or trainers. For example, the woman denied access to the programme she wanted to attend undertook her own self-directed research project to determine her eligibility. After her research, she was again told that it was not feasible for her. She said, 'Then, you would prefer for me to wait on welfare for seven more months collecting welfare at the taxpayers' expense while I could get off welfare at least a year earlier if I were to enrol in this programme?' Her rationale coerced the government agent to finally 'give her permission' to enrol; however, her progress would be watched very closely. Thus, through her own self-directed learning and research, this woman was able to access what she needed to accomplish her goals, but it was only by proving cost savings for government. Despite government policy, women often have difficulty accessing programmes they need.

Situating adult learning

Women learn within their everyday worlds and social spaces. They engage in numerous educational activities to improve their skills, lifestyles, and children's lives as they make transitions from welfare.

According to Lave and Wenger (1996), learning is situated socially within everyday worlds of individuals' communities. Women, as persons-in-the-world, participate within diverse socio-cultural communities. Often women on welfare, operate between communities, for they do not want others to know they are on welfare. However, they are part of the welfare 'community', for they must go to welfare offices and often to foodbanks. For example, women's initial initiation into the welfare community is learning how to access specific forms to apply for welfare. Women have related that all they were told was to show up at the welfare office to pick up forms at 8:30 in the morning. Little did they know that if they arrived at the specified time, they would not get in to make an appointment to hand in the forms, for appointments were only given to the first four people in line each day. Subsequently, they learned they would need to arrive as early as six for an appointment. Many shared this learning with friends forced onto welfare to diminish their frustration with the process.

Within social spaces of welfare, women learn 'the rules of the game' as creative, social agents to meet their needs (Harker, Mahar and Wilkes, 1990). Over time, many women become adept at learning their rights and entitlements. For example, one woman related to me that if she had not known her rights, she could very well be pregnant by now. Welfare will pay for women's birth control pills. Since this woman could not take the pills for health reasons, she asked her male social worker to approve an IUD. However, he flatly refused, for he said that he could only approve pills. This particular woman knew the regulations stated any birth control was suitable, so she contested his decision. After demanding her rights and indicating she did not want to become pregnant and burden the system, her male worker finally wrote out permission for the IUD. Had she not learned the 'rules of the game' and her rights, she could have endangered her own health or become pregnant. This illustrates that women must continually problem-solve on their own behalf to navigate the different structures used for control.

Timing and place

According to Lave and Wenger (1996), learning occurs over time and space within social worlds. Contrary to government acknowledgement, for many women, the 'time must be right' to engage in learning. Just because government mandates women to enrol in programmes, does not mean other areas of women's lives will sustain this kind of learning. Moreover, many women must have a safe place to learn and to practise immediately what they learn. For example, several women attended a pre-employment programme where they learned life, communication, career, health, and interpersonal skills. They maintained they knew much of the information, but this was the first time they could actually practise the skills for themselves in a safe place. Also, their personal lives and children's day-care were relatively stable, so this allowed them to take time away from their children to learn and practise these skills again. This illustrates learning is not static, for it changes with time and conditions.

Some might think an individual's life history might outweigh a group's collective history. However, individuals' histories may inform the collective if we examine individuals' patterns of practice in navigating social relationships within social structures (Bertaux, 1981). For instance, in my research, many women individually have discussed how they frequently do not have enough food, for money must be redirected from food to other expenses. They relate how they must use foodbanks, family, or extra food vouchers to sustain themselves and their families. If we examine the theme of food throughout the stories of women, then we can see that in an affluent country like Canada, we actually have a problem with women going hungry. By exploring the individual's history, we may see a pattern for the collective through time.

Living places

Some might say life histories only focus on the individual. However, thematic analysis of women's life histories depict commonalities exist between groups. For example, most of the women in each group state: 'I've always worked'. To some this might be quite surprising, for the common mythology is that women on welfare never have worked, nor do they have any attention of working or going to school. Some women had low paying jobs; others were employed in occupations that provided a living wage and benefits.

In-depth life history interviews improve understanding of women's living spaces and how they navigate different structures in their everyday lives. For instance, women on welfare have many more skills they use to navigate their everyday lives than government acknowledges. In fact, many skills they possess are akin to the Conference Board of Canada Skills used to determine employability. Some skills include complex budgeting that can be translated into problem-solving and critical thinking skills in the workplace. Others manifest teamwork skills by working together for other women as advocates for obtaining benefits or ensuring their rights are fulfilled. Women's understanding of their skills and the strategies they use for navigating their everyday lives can be shared with others to assist in their transitions.

Contesting space

Based on their own research and needs analysis, many women contest spaces for learning by demanding they be given opportunities government agents deem unnecessary. Through their self-directed learning projects and research, women have been able to convince government agents to 'allow' them to follow their educational and career goals. Women are beginning to contest spaces for learning as they demand the same 'rights and privileges' men are awarded when they are on welfare.

Furthermore, women contest spaces in their everyday worlds when they dress in clean, well-fitting clothing as opposed to the stereotypes that women on welfare wear dirty, ripped, and ill-fitting clothes. Moreover, women keep themselves well groomed. Thus, when they appear in this way in the welfare offices, they are contesting the status quo and attempting to initiate changes in structures by breaking stereotypes. However, despite their attempts, they are often treated rudely, for clerks cannot, then, understand why someone looking so good should be receiving welfare when the clerks must work for their wages. Through good manners and empathy, many of the women in my study try to overlook the hostility of individuals. They maintain that eventually they do instigate changes in attitudes.

Most of the women on assistance in my study do not want to be there. They point out that this is temporary for them until they enrol in an education programme of their choice or find appropriate work. Thus, they are continually strategizing how to leave welfare despite the difficulty of leaving. As women make progress in their education and in maintaining a job, the workers become more helpful until the women are on student loans or off full welfare. Many tell me when they leave welfare, they will never return to such a degrading experience, so they continue to strategize to improve their lifestyles, career, and education to remain free from those particular structures.

Implications for adult education

As adult educators, we must avoid 'buying into' government policies appearing to promote panaceas for employing women on welfare through just formal training and education programmes. We must continue to explore and validate learning occurring within everyday social spaces as it provides women with many skills and learning opportunities. Thus, as adult educators, we must continually reflect on whether we intend education for training competency and maintenance of the government status quo or democratic education for citizenship and social justice as we enter the new millennium. We must be vigilant of gendering learning spaces and opportunities as we work more closely with government agencies. By exploring women's transitions from welfare to work and education, we might examine more closely our relationships as adult educators with the women we teach as they attempt to contest spaces in their everyday worlds.

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Lost in space? Re-valuing the impact of education research

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Introduction

In the recent film, a spin-off from the successful TV series of the 1960s, *Lost in Space*, whilst the main sociological analysis must focus on the idea of the dysfunctional family, there are parts of the film that raise questions about the nature of social and educational research. At the centre of the film and the family is John Robinson, father and brilliant astrophysicist who has been undertaking space research so that human beings can colonise other planets because Earth is almost exhausted of its natural resources. Robinson's research has an intended practical if somewhat immodest outcome – to save the human race. But research does not take place in a cultural or ethical vacuum. There are issues to be raised in terms of the balance between social responsibility and the dilemma of taking action that threatens other life in the universe (and beyond) through the process of colonisation. Whilst reflecting upon these practical dilemmas the forces of evil appear in the form of Dr Smith who seeks to sabotage the research mission for political purposes. He achieves this by diverting the space research laboratory off course, so that the Space Family Robinson research team are heading straight for the sun, through previously unmapped regions of deep space, where – it seems - they become lost.

This paper takes these aspects of the film as a metaphor for what has been happening in education research. Whilst the trends are global, if not universal, there has been a particular attempt to throw British educational research off course, by the 'evil' Dr Tooley, on behalf of the planet Ofsted, compounded by the influence of the RAE(1). The critical analysis will seek to demonstrate that the recent critique of education research is the product of what is nothing less than the intentional sabotage by government funding policies and mechanisms. That research appears to have been 'lost in space' is an inevitable outcome of these forces.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the space occupied by education research. Traditionally, education research has been assumed to have an 'impact' though this has been largely a matter of faith rather than something that has been demonstrated empirically through meta-research. This paper will suggest that the belief that education research can and should have an impact is based on a world view that is characterised by over-simplification. Such a view sustains the reduction of a view of the world to one of unsophisticated aetiology. After at least a century of the failure of social sciences to provide the answer to universal problems, we have lost sight of the lessons learned along the way and persist in asking the same inappropriate questions of social and education research.

It will be argued that educational research is not lost in space, but occupies a world of its own, that has to be understood in its own terms, its own language, its own culture. This paper will critically question the assumption of purpose – or as Edwards (1998) asks, 'what should educational research do?'

What should educational research do?

Education research – not for the first time - has come in for considerable criticism for its apparent lack of rigour and significance for policymakers and practitioners. During the past year or two, the debate has returned to the agenda. Claims against the quality of educational research made by Tooley (1998) suggest that too much research is published, most of which fails to contribute or even consolidate knowledge and understanding, let alone make a significant or direct contribution to practice. Tooley had been commissioned by Ofsted to undertake an evaluation of the output of education research. That in itself raised some concerns: first, that Ofsted should be involved in

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commenting on the quality of education research at all; and second, that Tooley, already well known for outspoken and even outrageous(2) views should have been given this task. When Tooley's appointment was first announced in September 1997, the *Times Educational Supplement* (12 September 1997) reported 'bias fears as right-winger heads inquiry into the practical value of publicly-funded educational research'. Although the main focus of the inquiry was to be on the usefulness of research, Tooley, director of the training and education unit of the Institute of Economic Affairs, a right-wing think-tank closely associated with Thatcherism, made it clear that he would also be looking for evidence of political bias in educational research.

On reviewing his published work, one finds that Tooley no more nor less than any other academic writer draws on existing research. His uncritical use of education research to support his arguments seems to conflict with his views of the poor quality of educational research. Further, his own research seems to be substantiated through anecdotal evidence. For example, in his support for a 'lifelong individual fund for education' (now referred to as 'individual learning accounts'), he defends his position by asking

> What would happen to some typical young people under this proposal? Consider three, Emma, Jayshree and Phil, all, let us say, from working-class backgrounds and none with wealthy parents, in order to emphasise the advantages of the system to the less to the less advantaged (Tooley, 1996: 97).

It is not clear whether these three young people are real or fictional. The way in which Tooley writes about them comes across as hypothetical, but he does then generalise from them in a way that social and educational researchers using qualitative methodologies would be cautious.

The impetus for the commissioned research was some comments made by David Hargreaves – a respected education researcher - not in an article published in a reputable academic journal, nor in a paper delivered at an academic conference, but in an address to the government's Teacher Training Agency annual conference. Hargreaves (1996a) asserted, without either specifying criteria or evidence, that educational research 'is poor value for money in terms of improving the quality of education provided in school'. He added that educational research, unlike medical research is 'non-cumulative'. He alleges that most research energy is taken up with 'methodological quarrels which are baffling to anyone outside the academic community. This has echoes of the sterile 'social science as science' debate, as well as the 'academic-practitioner divide'. He says that the 'gap between researchers and practitioners' is the 'fatal flaw in educational research'. He concludes that there is a considerable amount of 'frankly second-rate educational research which does not make a serious contribution to fundamental theory or knowledge, which is irrelevant to practice; which is unco-ordinated with any preceding or follow-up research; and which clutters up academic journals that virtually nobody reads'.

Whilst in this paper I am providing a meta-critique of education research, in line with a consistent 'right for the wrong reasons' view that I have expressed in previous writings, I would not wish to completely dismiss Hargreaves' views, and this paper will address some of the issues he raises. I agree that this is a valid area for meta-research. I would disagree that Ofsted was the appropriate body to commission such research, or that Tooley was the appropriate person to undertake such a commission.

Gobbledygook

On his own admission in the report, Tooley only set out to examine a 'small part of educational research' in order to investigate Hargreave's assertions. He also focused on a sample of 41 articles taken from 30 top academic journals in order to provide a 'snapshot' of such research, from a total of 264 British research articles. Tooley talks about using 'standards of good practice', without regard to contextual considerations such as the editorial policies of the journal in which the article appears, the constraints of word length, and – importantly – the pressure on academics to publish for both individual career development and promotion of their organisation's academic respectability through the Research Assessment Exercise. Tooley judges the selected articles on their focus, conduct and presentation. He seems to assume that the research that underpins a short journal article can be judged on the basis of that article alone. It is interesting that part of Tooley's critique rests on partisanship, sampling bias, and the need for triangulation in conduct of research, for surely Tooley's own research for this commission falls down precisely on each of these. Having said that, Tooley considers that 15 of the articles do show good practice (by his definition) so he has not gone out of his way to demonstrate just how poor is education research in Britain. The fact that 26 articles do not satisfy his criteria of good research 'in terms of certain dimensions' of the analysis leads Tooley to conclude that there are 'rather worrying tendencies in a *majority* of the articles surveyed (his emphasis) and that

> The conclusions may be disturbing, in particular in terms of the general health of the academic education research community, and its potential influence in terms of the training and education of future teachers. All the papers discussed here have been accepted through the academic referring process (Tooley 1998: 6).

Given these caveats, what does Tooley's Ofsted report contribute to our understanding of the purpose, value and impact of education research? Would his own research satisfy the criteria he applies? His tendency toward the anecdotal is evident throughout the report, including the opening sentence, which refers to a conversation at a Christmas party between an academic researcher and a porter. The report did stimulate a largely defensive reaction from the academic community and the education research associations, although we would need to locate that discussion in its broader historical space. These discussions have been around for an eternity. Indeed, even as the report was being planned, the debates were continuing. Bassey (1997) was lamenting the fact that political parties and policy-makers were disregarding education research. He identifies recent education research that has been ignored, and at the same time, areas of educational policy-making where implications of various policy proposals are not known because of an absence of research.

In September 1997, Tooley was at the British Education Research Association (BERA) annual conference delivering politically neutral papers on educational vouchers (and what a good thing they are) and feminist educational research (and how unnecessary that is). The head of Ofsted, Chris Woodhead continued his sniping at educational research that he had began earlier in the year in his annual Ofsted lecture (presumably taking his lead from Hargreaves at the TTA a few months before). Alan Smithers added fuel to the discussion by asserting that much education research was simply 'gobbledygook' quite rightly ignored by politicians, teachers and parents. Smithers is reported by Izumi (1997) to have said 'Which of today's other crazes will be shown to be the educational equivalent of UFOs – much believed in but with no hard evidence to support their actuality?' Izumi states that some of the

> presentations were 'impossibly abstract' (to use Mr Woodhead's description). Some of the session titles made one shudder (for example, 'Sexualities, pedagogy and masquerade: some que(e)ries'). There was, in fact, much to justify Professor Smither's warning that 'Education is an applied area. We want to improve the quality of that practical activity, not discover something new about the earth'. To be fair, however, there were also some very informative presentations. My IEA colleague, Dr. Tooley gave a thought-provoking speech on the merits of private vouchers (scholarships given by philanthropic foundations to poor children to attend private K-12 schools) Dr Anne-Marie Montgomery of Queens University (Belfast) also gave a most revealing presentation on grant-maintained schools (Britain's version of charter schools). According to Dr Montgomery's survey research, the admissions criteria for grant-maintained schools are far from elitist (a charge similarly levelled against US charter schools), with the large majority of such schools admitting children without regard to their academic ability.

It sounds like Professor Izumi has shot himself in the foot there. A visiting fellow of the IEA, Izumi was personally invited to attend the conference by Tooley, and the American professor adds 'Over the next month, I will be doing research on grant-maintained schools and how they compare with charter

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schools. My eventual findings, however, will arise above 'gobbledygook'.' But, presumably, not political rhetoric.

Smithers had already stated this perspective at the British Association Festival of Science in the same month. He is reported (*Times Educational Supplement*, 12 September 1997) to have stated that most education research is a 'desperate waste of time' because it fails to tackle the real issues facing teachers, and most research is 'trivial, flawed or biased':

> Too many researchers were acting like social scientists, exploring esoteric issues instead of addressing the real issues of literacy and numeracy, which would help improve their performance. And they had left a generation of children at the mercy of untested theories such as mixed ability teaching, which today seems daft in retrospect.

Smithers highlighted a string of papers published which he indeed had said were 'gobbledygook', including *'Between postmodernism and nowhere: the predicament of the postmodernist'* - 'This isn't going to help you teach reading and subtraction'.

Between postmodernism and nowhere: lost in space?

The responses to Tooley and his supporters are depressing. Not because they are saying the wrong things, but the fact the community of education researchers feel they need saying at all. Hargreaves (1996b), who initiated this current round of critique and debate, is right to express his concern that education researchers who often advocate 'reflective practice' fail to practice reflectively in the light of criticism. Hargreaves is challenged to provide evidence for his assertions. By demanding evidence, we fall back on modernist notions of research that have consistently failed to provide answers to educational issues. We seem to assume that someone, but not Tooley, could undertake meta-research devoid of political bias and values. It is as if many of us still hope that by continuing to challenge social science research in terms of the scientific model, we will eventually be able to affirm that indeed social science is science.

Are issues raised by postmodernity already lost in space? Rorty's efforts to get us to abandon the pursuit of truth (Sayers 1997) seem to have been forgotten in the response to Tooley and the others. BERA, for example, has defended education research precisely in terms of this goal. A letter published in BERA's *Research Intelligence* (February 1997: 21-22) is headed 'The pursuit of truth':

> I am sure all BERA members would want to endorse the spirit of your stirring editorial 'the pursuit of truth'; clearly there can be no other goal for researchers.

Social science has long recognised that research is inevitably partisan, and that all that we do is underpinned by values. The question, as both Weber and Gouldner have stated, is not whether we can be value-free (because it is obvious that we cannot) but whose values are dominant?

Practitioner-research as praxis

I value practice-based research that contributes to the emancipatory agenda for a more just society (Lather, 1991), as well as having direct impact in improving my teaching, and those evidence-based practises that enable learning to be more effective. I should not have to defend this value position. Publicly stated it is open to challenge, but ultimately not a subject for research. As Hargreaves (1996b) replied to the attack on his argument (a thesis), the response should not be to demand that he provides evidence to justify his views (a position which itself contains a set of unanalysed values - Why research? Whose research?), but to propose a counter-argument (antithesis). Research then becomes transformed into an arena in which practice is challenged, and through changing practice there is a possibility that values may change, but as I have argued before (Armstrong 1994), values are relatively enduring. It is commonly understood that discriminatory practices are easier to challenge than deeply-held prejudices that underpin such practices. The impact of research is, therefore, likely to operate at superficial rather than deep level activity. However, the closer the relationship between research and practice, the greater the likelihood of impact on practice. This seems to be a point made by Hargreaves (1996b). In negatively comparing education research with medical research, he is not arguing that medical research is superior by reference to 'scientific criteria'. Medical practice is generally evidence-based, Hargreaves says, whereas teaching and learning are not.

Whether Hargreaves is right in his comparison is a contestable matter, but the point he is making is about the relationship between practice and research (evidence). Although this paper has focused on the 'contributions' to this debate made by Tooley, there was another parallel research project undertaken by the Institute of Employment Studies (Sussex) commissioned by the Department for Education and Employment. Published as *Excellence in Research in Schools*, this study points out that research is only one of the influences on policy formation and that its impact is likely to be indirect through a variety of transmission mechanism and intermediaries:

> There is no simple model, and as a result the impact of research is difficult to isolate and measure. While there is influential work taking place and examples of good relationships between research and practice, given the volume of research, we would have eve expected a greater level of impact. (Hillage and others, 1998: 11)

The authors point out that where research does have impact, it

- tends to be small-scale
- would not meet the scientific needs of reliability and validity
- might be insufficiently rooted in existing knowledge and not capable of deepening understanding or adding to grand narratives
- might be presented in a form that is inaccessible
- lacks interpretation for a policy-making or practitioner audience.

But it makes a difference to learners.

There is a dilemma here for practitioner-researchers in higher education. In spite of the rhetoric, teaching quality is still not valued as highly as research output as measured through the Research Assessment Exercise. However much *we* might value practitioner research that has a direct impact on teaching and learning, our academic culture does not. At minimum, we would need to write up the research for an elite journal, even if we doubt validity, reliability and usefulness outside the situation in which it was undertaken. Although too large a subject to deal with this in this paper, the impact of the RAE on educational research could be a useful piece of meta-research. In terms of the RAE (and specifically the experiences of the Education Panel in 1996) we know quite a lot about the procedures (*Research Intelligence*, February and April 1997; NFER, 1998) and its difficulties and dilemmas (*Research Intelligence*, February 1997), but not very much about its impact on education research itself. I would hypothesise that many of the conclusions Tooley came to by examining articles in elite journals reflect more the pressures of RAE on the academic community. Bjarnason (1997) has described some implications for research students. In a recent book, Jarvis (1998) reminds us that a considerable amount of educational research falls outside the view of the academic community, and yet we 'see' it on a daily basis through our supervision of research students. Occasionally we encourage Ph.D students to publish parts or the whole of their theses, but we neglect to consider the value of Masters' research that is undertaken in our higher education institutions, which is invariably practice-based. It may not fulfil the requirements for academic publishing, but often makes a difference to the quality of teaching in both formal education and informal learning.

Our mission is to go boldly forth to change the value placed on education research by protecting practitioner-based research from the 'black holes' it usually disappears into where it is lost forever. This may already be happening. The recent ESRC Teaching and Learning initiative appears to be attributing value to practitioner-based research.

Notes

1. Ofsted is the Office for Standards in Education, the government agency responsible for assuring the quality of education in British schools. RAE is the Research Assessment Exercise, undertaken in British universities approximately every five years by the Higher education Funding Council to grade the quality of each institution's research profile. The next RAE is due in 2001.

2. Tooley (1996) has made public his views on anti-state intervention in schooling in education; it is paradoxical that his findings led to demands for *more* state intervention in educational research through Ofsted. He had earlier (1995) provoked public reaction with his claim that school examinations should be replaced by IQ testing, and thereby briefly resurrecting the debate about the genetic basis of intelligence.

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Reclaiming and problematizing self-directed learning as a space for critical adult education

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In this paper I want to address three issues. First, how can we understand the cultural formation of self-directed learning (SDL) so that its elevation to a position of prominence in adult education discourse is understood as a political phenomenon? Second, is self-direction an accomodative, domesticating idea (as some critics claim) or can it have an emancipatory force? I think critical adult educators have made a strategically premature decision to dismiss self-direction as having no contribution of the role it plays in building a critical practice of adult education. Given the popularity and widespread acceptance of the idea for contemporary adult educators, some important consequences could ensue for the field if this idea was reframed with a critical edge. Third, I want to make explicit some political dimensions to the idea of self-direction. If these were acknowledged then self-directed learning could join critical theory, critical pedagogy and transformative learning as complementary elements of a rationale for the critical practice of adult education.

The cultural formation of self directed learning

It is no accident that the idea of SDL has engaged the attention of adult educators, particularly those in the United States. As a representation of how learning optimally occurs, the concept fits very much the American ideology of rugged individualism. SDL underscores the folklore of the self-made man or woman that elevates to near mythical status those who speak a narrative of succeeding against the odds through the sheer force of their individual efforts. This is the narrative surrounding 'adult learner of the year' awards bestowed on those who pull themselves up by their bootstraps to claim their place at the table of stories and voices. This is the narrative that President Clinton's campaign team tapped expertly into this individualistic ethic in their video *The Man from Hope* shown at his nominating convention. That anyone can be President was celebrated as a prized tenet of American culture. That this takes enormous amounts of money and years of courting, and co-optation by, big business interests remained obscured.

There is a certain irony in the fact that a concept like self-direction that is seemingly replete with ideals of liberty and freedom can end up serving repressive interests. Yet this is precisely what happens when the social and cultural formation of the concept are ignored. For many learners and educators the image of self-direction is of a self-contained, internally driven, capable adult learner working to achieve her goal in splendid isolation. The self is seen as a free floating, autonomous, volitional agent able to make rational, authentic and internally coherent choices about learning while remaining detached from social, cultural and political formations. As a recent analysis of postmodernism's challenge to adult education notes, the self in self-directed learning is 'the classical scientific self - individualised, undifferentiated, an essentially abstract entity, the 'monological' self' (Usher, Bryant and Johnston 1997, p. 94).

There are many problems with this notion of the self. First, we cannot stand outside the cultural streams within which we swim. Second, the idea of a unitary, unconflicted self - an undifferentiated ego - is a fiction. In making what seem like purely personal, private choices about learning we play out the contradictory crosscurrents of ideology and genetics that are inscribed within us. Third, it is but a short step from conceiving self-direction as a form of learning emphasizing separateness to equating it with selfishness, with the narcissistic pursuit of private ends regardless of the consequences of this pursuit for others. Self-direction that honors only the efforts of the individual self rests on the premise that one's needs and desires exist sui generis and have an inalienable right to be satisfied. In adult education programmes that purport to embody the spirit of self-direction it is not unusual for learners to argue that unless they get from adult educators whatever learners say they want, then the spirit of self-direction has somehow been compromised.

A view of learning that regards people as self-contained, volitional beings scurrying around in individual projects is one that works against collective and co-operative impulses. Citing an engagement in SDL people can deny the existence of common interests and human interdependence in favour of an obsessive focus on the self. Such a stance leaves unchallenged wider beliefs, norms and structures and thereby reinforces the status quo. This conceptualization of self-direction emphasizes a self that is sustained by its own internal momentum needing no external connections or supports. It erects as the ideal culmination of psychological development the independent, fully functioning person. Fortunately, this view of adults' development trajectories as leading inevitably towards the establishment of separate, autonomous selves has been challenged in recent years by work on gender (Goldberger et. al., 1996) and critical psychology (Morss, 1996; Burman, 1994; Fox and Prilleltensky, 1997). This work questions the patriarchal notion that atomistc self-determination is both an educational ideal to be pursued as well as the natural end point of psychological development. In its place it advances a feminist valuing of interdependence and a socially constructed interpretation of identity.

Politically, the separatist emphasis of SDL makes an engagement in common cause more difficult for people to contemplate. It severs the connection between private troubles and public issues (Mills, 1953) and makes it harder for learners to realize that apparenty private learning projects are culturally framed. As Boshier (1983) has pointed out, policy makers can use research into self-direction to justify cutting spending on adult education. After all, they can argue, if adult educators tell us that adult learners are naturally self-directed (unlike children who are dependent on teacher direction) then why bother making provision for their education? Won't they self-directedly take the initiative in planning and conducting their learning anyway? But atomistic, divisive interpretations of self-directed learning need not be the end of the story. If we can demonstrate convincingly the political dimensions of an idea that is routinely enshrined in programmatic mission statements and privilged in professional discourse, and if we can prevent interpretations of SDL from sliding into an unproblematized focus on self-actualization, then we have a real chance to use this idea as a foundational element in building a critical practice of adult education.

Problematizing self-directed learning as an emancipatory idea

To critical theorists the predominance of the concept of self-directed learning in the field illustrates the tendency of humanistic adult educators to collapse all political questions into a narrowly reductionist technical rationality. From the perspective of critical theory, the early free spirit of self-direction has been turned (through the technology of learning contracts) into a masked form of repressive surveillance - one more example of the infinite flexibility of hegemony, of the workings of a coldly efficient form of repressive tolerance. What began as a cultural challenge, a counter hegemonic effort, has taken a technocratic, accommodative turn. Griffin (1987) argues that discourse on self-direction is totally disconnected from questions of power and control in society and that it shows the misguided inclination of humanistic adult educators to depoliticize all questions of practice under the rubric of a Rogerian concern for 'personal growth.' Similarly, Collins (1988) writes that 'far from empowering adult students, self-directed learning strategies steer them to a negotiated compromise with predominant interests which support social conformity' (p. 63). Adult educators who subscribe to self-directed learning techniques such as learning contracts are dismissed as willing collaborators in the sublimation of individual needs to institutional interests.

Following Foucault's (1980) analysis of disciplinary power, it is certainly highly plausible to see the technology of self-directed learning - particularly the widespread acceptance and advocacy of learning contracts - as a highly developed form of surveillance. By interiorizing what Foucault calls the 'normalizing gaze' (teacher developed norms concering what's acceptable) through their negotiations with faculty, learning contracts transfer the responsibilty for overseeing learning from the teacher to the learner. This is usually spoken of as an emancipatory process of empowerment in which adult educators are displaying an admirable responsiveness to student needs and circumstances. But, using Foucault's principle of reversal (seeing something as the exact opposite of what it really is) learning contracts can be reframed and understood as a sophisticated means by which the content and methodology of learning can be monitored without the teacher needing to be physically present. That the exercise of disciplinary power can be furthered through self-directed learning is illustrated in a recent book on SDL for schoolteachers where the 'self-directed plan of discipline ... a written plan negotiated between the teacher and student' (Areglado, Bradley and Lane, 1996, p. 66) is the means by which 'self-directing behaviour becomes self-discipline' (p. 63).

Self-directed learning can also be interpreted as an anti-collectivist force, preventing the momentum of social movements from developing. In Foucault's terms, insisting on self-directed learning means that 'a collective effect is abolished and replaced by a collection of separated individualities' (Foucault, 1975, p. 201). On line instruction, self-assessment, self-managed and self-regulated learning are increasingly urged on educational institutions as learner-friendly, student-centered ways of cutting faculty costs. Lyotard's (1979) vision of education as the efficient consumption of learning packages is realized. This replacement of the collectivity of the class meeting with individually developed programmes of study is the educational equivalent of Margaret Thatcher's infamous declaration that 'there is no such thing as society.' Given that self-directed learning can easily be understood as a way of thinking about learning that underscores isolation, separatism and self-monitoring, it is not suprising that its emancipatory possibilities have been neglected. To Collins, the choice is between 'Self-Directed Learning or an Emancipatory Practice of Adult Education' (1988) with the two posed as dichotomous, mutually exclusive options.

I wish to propose an alternative approach, which is to argue that self-direction can be, and should be, reframed as an inherently emancipatory idea, an oppostional, counter-hegemonic force. In this I build on Foucault's (1980) contention that 'there are no relations of power without resistances; the latter are all the more real and effective because they are formed right at the point where relations of power are exercised' (p. 142). To Foucault the tentacles of sovereign power previously exercised by a monolithic state or monarch are today replaced by local practices of self-monitoring (such as learning contracts) which are exercised as disciplinary power. But the very locality and specificity of these practices means they are more amenable to change and challenge than are large scale societal edifices. We might be unable to contemplate abolishing broad social mechanisms of economy, law or force, but we can see ways of sliding around and through negotiated learning contracts. It is easier to practice Freire's pedagogy of hope (Freire, 1994) and dissipate radical pessimism when we know that struggles can be local and contextual.

Self-directed learning as a counter-hegemonic practice

SDL contains within it the seeds of a counter-hegemonic practice. If the powerful political underpinnings to the idea could be made explicit, this might help galvanize the political consciousness of many mainstream adult educators who currently see little political component to their work. In the specific adult educational sites in which self-direction is exercised there exists the possibility for reframing its practices to stand as a form of resistance. One of the tactical mistakes leftist adult educators have made is to dismiss as uncritical lackeys duped by oppressive interests those colleagues who subscribe to the ideas and technology of SDL. This unfairly demeans a great many committed adult educators who are working towards goals they view as emancipatory.

Of course, it is quite possible to believe one is working in a liberatory vein, only to discover later that one's efforts have bolstered the hegemony one was supposed to be opposing. We can have good hearts, boundless energy and deep wells of compassion, but lack political clarity. After all, the belief that SDL always works to further students' liberatory interests is ideologically sedimented in adult educations' professional culture. It is also part of adult educators' structures of feelings (to use

Williams' (1977) phrase), part of what seems to us to be the natural way of understanding the world. To stand outside a culture that has accepted SDL as an unproblematised benefit is difficult, to say the least. To subject the idea and practice of SDL to Foucault's principle of reversal, and thereby contemplate the posibility that one's efforts are having an effect opposite to the one intended, is something most of us would prefer to avoid.

But it is important to remember that most adult educators who stand behind the concept of self-direction do so because they sense that there is something about this form of practice that dignifies people and respects their experiences. For them self-direction represents a break with authoritarianism and educational totalitarianism. It means that control over the definitions, processes and evaluations of learning rests with those who are struggling to learn, not with external authorities. The belief that through self-direction adults can gain increasing control over their lives (however naive this belief might subsequently turn out to be) is an emancipatory belief. When asked to justify their commitment to SDL most practitioners invoke concepts of empowerment and transformation. Although these words have been robbed of their political import, they can be reconstituted and re-articulated in a counter-hegemonic way to emphasize standing against oppressive interests. That this is possible is represented in Gelpi's (1979) view that ...

> self-directed learning by individuals and of groups is a danger for every repressive force, and it is upon this self-direction that we must insist .... radical change in social, moral, aesthetic and political affairs is often the outcome of a process of self-directed learning in opposition to the educational message imposed from without (p. 2).

For all the accommodative potential that Collins so skillfully identifies in SDL, there is still something intrinsically critical, oppositional and emancipatory about the idea for many adults, both learners and educators. People believe that embedded in the idea is some strain of resistance to dominant values and practices that sets adult educators' faces in opposition to powerful interests. They know that at the heart of SDL is the rejection of institutions' right to mandate and control what and how people learn. So, like Hammond and Collins (1991), I believe that self-direction can easily and naturally be reframed with a political edge so that it 'fits squarely into the tradition of emancipatory adult education' (p. 13).

Reframing self-direction as a political idea

At the heart of self-direction are issues of power and control, particularly regarding the definition of acceptable and appropriate learning activities. Who defines the boundaries of intellectual inquiry is always a political question, and self-direction places this decision squarely in the hands of learners. Second, exercising self-direction inevitably requires certain conditions to be in place regarding access to resources, conditions that are essentially political in nature. Claiming the resources needed to conduct SDL can be regarded as a political act.

Probably the most consistently predictable element in definitions of self-direction is the importance of the adult's exercising control over the educational decisions any learning project requires. What are legitimate goals of a learning effort, how these might be accomplished, what resources will be most helpful, what methods will work best, and what criteria are most appropriately applied to judging the success of any learning effort are all decisions that are said to rest in learners' hands. Of course, these decisions can be manipulated in the way discussed earlier through the technology of learning contracts, but the procedural distortion this technology represents is not endemic to the idea of self-direction. The emphasis on the learner as the locus of power and control - as the ultimate arbiter of what is right and wrong, of what is a worthwhile or wasted effort - is also central to notions of emancipatory adult education.

So the emphasis of self-directed learning on placing the learner at the heart of decision-making calls to mind some powerful political ideals. In its purest form it implies a democratic commitment to shifting to learners complete control over conceptualizing, designing, conducting and evaluating ther learning, and for deciding which resources best further these processes. Self-direction can be seen as part of a populist democratic tradition which holds that people's definitions of what is important to them should frame and instruct governments' actions, not the other way round. This is why the idea of full SDL is such anathema to advocates of a core or national curriculum, and why it is opposed so vehemently by those who see education as a process of initiation into cultural literacy. As Gelpi (1979) observes, SDL is institutionally and politically inconvenient to those promoting educational blueprints that attempt to control the learning of others. Emphasizing people's right to self-direction invests a trust in their wisdom, in their capacity to make wise choices and take wise actions.

If we place the self-conscious, self-aware exertion of control over learning at the heart of what it means to be self-directed we raise a host of questions about how control can be exercised authentically in a culture that is itself highly controlling. It is easy to imagine an inauthentic form of control where adults feel they are taking key decisions concerning their learning, all the while being unaware that this is happening within a framework that excludes certain ideas or activities as subversive, unpatriotic or immoral. Controlled self-direction is, from a political perspective, a contradiction in terms, an oxymoron as erroneous as limited empowerment. Superficially we may think we're controlling our learning when we decide the pacing, resources and evaluative criteria of our learning effort. But if the range of acceptable content has been pre-ordained so that we deliberately or unwittingly steer clear of things that we sense are aberrant or controversial, then we are controlled rather than controlling. We are active agents in our own self-censorship and surveillance, willing partners in hegemony.

Hegemony describes the process whereby ideas, structures and actions come to be seen by people as both natural and axiomatic - as so obvious as to be beyond question or challenge - when in fact these same phenomena serve to preserve the existing order and further the interests of dominant groups. A fully developed self-directed learning project would have at its centre an alertness to the possibility of hegemony. To the extent that it is counter-hegemonic, SDL implies that adults are ever aware to the possibility of self-censorship and hidden surveillance. SDL as a counter-hegemonic moment means that learners stay alert to the possibility that they are unthinkingly excluding some potential learning projects because they think they are too deviant or subversive. A fully adult form of self-direction exists only when we examine our definitions of what we think it's important for us to learn for the extent to which these definitions serve repressive interests.

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What's a nice girl like you doing in a place like this? The adventures of two feminist adult educators in a teacher education programme...

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In this paper, we reflect on our experiences of teaching for a term within our Faculty's teacher education programme - previously terra incognita for adult educators. The students we taught had completed an undergraduate degree and were just starting either the one-year or two-year pre-service programme leading to the provincial teaching certificate. The course we taught was required: the outline states that students 'will acquire the concepts, abilities and procedures for assessing educational claims, policies and practices' and while different instructors will bring a different emphasis to the sections they teach, 'six topics will be addressed in common--multiculturalism and anti-racism, gender, sexual orientation, the analysis of education, the aims and purposes of education, and First Nations (Aboriginal) education.' With trepidation and curiosity, we entered into this new area of practice - how, we wondered, would we realise the principles of adult education and feminist pedagogy within a teacher education programme? Such programmes are rarely considered to be sites of adult education, even though the students are adults in all sense of the word. But inhabiting this new " educational space" of teaching has given us the chance to reassess 'old' core beliefs about adult education, about our practice as feminist adult educators, and to consider our experiences as part of a postmodern story.

Valerie-Lee's Thoughts:

The first paper I wrote for an Adult Education course dealt with the differences between adult education and the education of adults. I thought I had resolved that question back then when I claimed that the difference lies only in the assumptions one brings to the practice, and how those assumptions or perspectives then shape practice. But here it was again, in my face, every session of EDST 314 - what to call this process of educating/instructing adults in the pedagogy of children? I was charged with "educating" (a word *I* would not choose to use) 44 adults, twice weekly, for a total of 3 hours, about the purposes of education, about schooling and inequities, and, most importantly, I had to "teach" them how to analyse what others said about education, teachers and teaching. Beginning with a required reader and course outline whose pedagogical assumptions were that this was a course that educated 'pre-service teachers' and which did *not* assume that this was an adult education project, I almost immediately found differences between my constructions of the course and those of my fellow graduate student TA's.

I used much the same instructional strategies to enhance learning as did they, but we certainly used different language to describe what went on in our classes. So while "collaborative work" was a common descriptor, as was "group discussion", my "experiential activities and role plays" were their "skits", what I called "opportunities for reflective writing" they called "quizzes or tests", my "information sessions" were their "lectures", and of course, they had "debates" while I had "deconstructions". I did not put up overheads of "the main points in the article", nor assume a position of authority from which to pontificate on the material from the (dead) centre of the classroom; instead, a group of students led us each week through the readings and devised activities to help us engage with the theories and ideas that arose. I did not "test" weekly. I asked, instead, that students write about what the "readings illuminated or obscured" about their own learning or teaching. Different language, just semantics? Weren't we all, really, teaching the same stuff? I think not. As we have come to understand, language shapes our world.

our thinking, and so we write/speak the/a/our world into being. Different worlds, different words? Different power relations, different ideologies?

Assignments also differed markedly. I had to impose an exam, the Faculty requires it, but I chose the less formal 'midterm'; I also told my students pretty much what the questions would be. I do not think examinations inspire learning; terror, yes, frustration, yes, marking and fixing, yes... learning, no.

> Finally, the examination is at the centre of the procedures that constitute the individual as an effect and object of power, as effect and object of knowledge. It is the examination, which by combining hierarchical surveillance and normalizing judgment, assures the great disciplinary functions of distribution and classification, maximum extraction of forces and time, continuous genetic accumulation, optimum combination of aptitudes and thereby the formulation of cellular, organic, genetic, and combinatory individuality. Foucault, (1977 : 192).

I tried other ways of inspiring learning: students wrote learning biographies, conducted interviews with their next door neighbours, with people they didn't know, and with students they didn't like. I continually encouraged them to use their own experiences to structure the epistemological frames they brought to the analysis of the kinds of claims diverse groups of people make for education. I did not insist upon overly scholarly, nor philosophically sound reasonings to support their essays; the use of 'subject' knowledges *was* critical, however. Other students in other sections of 314 wrote critiques of the articles, and summarized arguments, using sound grammatical and rhetorical precepts. Which was the most effective means of learning? Both probably. Ahh, but which assignment would an adult educator choose, the mandatory test, or "The Story of My Best Teacher"? At the end of term, I had my class incorporate a performative element into their final assignment. I told them to break free of the traditional essay, to release its stranglehold and to consider offering visual, creative, dramatic or documentary representations instead. The second to last class was devoted to their presentations. Every single person got to stand up and say what they were working on, what form their project was taking, and why they were passionate about it. It was a wonderful class. I put up some of the posters, the pictures and writing the students produced for that session along the drab hallways of the building in which most of us non-faculty instructors are given office space. *Wow*, they said, *your 314 class did these*??

Not only the language and assignments differed. Our foundational assumptions about our place in the classroom and the institutional hierarchy showed up as markedly different, even in casual conversations after class. I felt, as an adult educator, that the students were there because they wanted to be, that they were motivated to learn, to teach well, to question what, how and where they wanted to teach, why they were impassioned about their teaching and their coming life in educational practice. I assumed that while I had temporary, institutionally granted "power over" the students to assess their learning, we were still peers in a discovery process. Some of my fellow instructors - and the most experienced ones - talked of "making sure *they* read the articles" by springing, unannounced quizzes, of "testing" them, and of systems of grading that penalized bad grammar, poor spelling, and, I sometimes thought, "bad" thinking.... I realize now that what set me apart was the andragogical perspective I brought to the class. Malcolm Knowles would have been proud of me. I don't know that feminist adult educators would be so impressed... The student responses were mixed. Some loved this perspective, some - the older adults, and there were many of them - expected it, some, especially the younger students, thought me too soft, and coasted.

And what have I come to think was/is *my* educational purpose? I have always believed, strongly, that the ethical role of adult educators is to create environments where people can surface just how the social and material reality of their lives is constructed in unequal power relationships based on gender, race, class, ability and sexual orientation (Cunningham, 1988). That's why I pursue my graduate studies in adult education, after all. I expect some transformative learning to occur in my classes. Indeed, I *want* it to happen. So when I see "disjuncture" (Jarvis, 1992) expressed as adults' perspectives are challenged, I tend to think, *Good!*, even as I feel for them. (Perspective shifts are often very uncomfortable.) To this end, I used material from Freire and hooks, and also handed out an article from one of my Teachers, Carl Leggo (1998), which exhorts student-teachers to "dance at the space of the hyphen", to "embrace chaos" not "classroom management", and to live and teach "ungrammatically". Now I wonder what ethical right I had to assume that I could, and should, attempt to "transform" unsuspecting adults who had come to my class to continue their work toward a professional degree. If they just wanted to learn how to teach, to get their certificate, what was I doing, trying to make them change the/ir world? Reading what Lynn Fendler (1998) writes about the new "educated subject" I am made doubly uneasy. Making an analysis of the educated subject that "recognizes governmentality and pastoral care as disciplinary technologies", Fendler claims that when the soul/self is reflexively identified with the social, "political projects of emancipation and empowerment, which promote inclusive representation of marginalized" means "that to be educated means to be committed to social justice." Or else? Is this the politically correct stance that many students objected to in the not so hidden curriculum of the UBC Faculty of Education, as presented in EDST 314

Happily, most survived intact, accruing another 100 or so hours toward that Bachelor of Education. Some in my class did experience perspective transformations. One man, a recent Canadian citizen who came from a patriarchal Euro-American culture that has not traditionally valued women's contributions to much of anything, found the readings, class discussions and his own observations of gender inequity in his practicum placement totally unsettling. Then he found himself noticing, and becoming stunned, at his own gendered behaviour. At the beginning of the term, he had dominated class and group discussions; now, he apologized to the class, spoke only when he had to, and wrote his term paper on gender and sexuality. The other four men who had behaved similarly had no such shift. They continued to speak out and over. There were other instances of perspective shifts, of transformational learnings. But now I wonder, was this the space for that to occur? Can transformation and professionalization co-exist? What educational spaces are for 'work', what spaces are for life changes, and what places are for both? Can transformative adult educational practices be allowed onto the professional terrain? And I am at heart the white middle class liberal humanist andragogical adult educator I have so incisively critiqued?

Shauna's Thoughts…

I began my second year of teaching this course with a little more confidence in my approach but also with some trepidation. I felt somewhat grounded by my knowledge of most of the thematic areas—areas that were exploring issues of equality through the lens of gender, race and class. These questions closely matched my own research interests in the field of adult education. I felt much less grounded in a kind of situated knowledge of the public schooling system. The students did not seem to care that I had had little experience with schools and some were quite curious about my adult education perspective. The struggle I experienced the most related to my efforts to create a kind of adult learning environment where we could engage in a lively and critical discussion about the subjectivity of the members of the class, myself (the instructor), and the institutionality of schools and teachers and their relationship to equality and social justice.

Who was there? There were 38 students ranging in age from 22 to 48. One third was male and two thirds were female (guess who dominated the conversation…). Most of the students were of European Anglo-Saxon ancestry, one third were visible minorities, mainly of Asian ancestry and there were two Aboriginal students. A handful of students had already had some classroom teaching experience, another handful had significant teaching experience in non-school settings like summer camps and other community-based agencies. I am a white, middle class, middle-aged, straight, able-bodied tenure track junior faculty member in the Adult Education programme where I teach and supervise mostly graduate students. I bring a critical feminist approach to my research and teaching and more recently have been excited by the methodological and epistemological challenges that postmodern and poststructuralist thinking bring to my practice. Of particular interest is the recognition of the importance of positionality of teachers that is shaped by gender, race, class, age, ability and sexual identities and by the institutional structures which demand certain performances by both students and faculty. And so I approach this paper with a desire to '…[own] my own positional limitations and possibilities, and the institutional constraints in which the learning activity is conducted..' in order to deepen '…the possibility for emancipatory education' (Tisdell, 1998, p. 153).

I should say from the start that although resistance and struggles are my dominant memories of this class, in reality, there was much more of a diverse response. Some students remarked positively on my facilitation skills 'she was very open to ideas from the class ... and gave students a chance to express themselves', others commented that we 'danced around the issues', others indicated that 'there was not enough time in class to cover all the subjects well enough...' and some felt that my efforts to accommodate everyone meant that '...it stifled discussions in the classroom'. As is usual with student evaluations, there was a range of reactions to the content and my teaching, for example, some students advised me to use more variety in my teaching while others applauded the diversity of approaches that I employed.

How would I characterize my teaching? My *desire* was to encourage them to develop a critical approach to their roles as teachers, to schools and education and to curriculum. I wanted them to embrace a '... tentative view of knowledge as socially constructed, subject to political, economic, social and cultural forces, and contingent upon communities of discourse, relations of power and social change' (Britzman, 1991, p. 48). I also hoped to encourage a kind of self-reflexivity, a sense of who they were as social beings, that their cultural heritage, gender, race, age and class mattered and shaped their teaching practice. Like Tisdell (1998) my intent was to create an inclusive classroom where all students felt valued and '...to create activities that will help participants explore the connection between who they are as individuals and the structural system of privilege and oppression...' (p. 139).

My efforts to achieve these goals involved pushing them to be critical of readings and other materials we used (including videos and guest speakers), to ask who was speaking and who was not included in our stories. I focused much of my own discourse on the role of language in the creation of knowledge claims and how power operates. Some students complained that my continual efforts to critically analyze our readings and classroom discussions silenced them, that there was such a strong element of what they called 'political correctness' that we could not have open and authentic discussions. I continually struggled with what I saw as a contradiction between creating a space where all could 'be heard', state their opinions, give comments and contribute, and a place where the texts, including their own testimony, were open for critical inquiry. I included my own discursive practice and classroom exercises as part of the critical analysis which was another source of frustration for several students who perceived my own critical and public self-reflexivity as nonproductive. I wonder if, as Gore has argued, my championing of 'criticality' became itself a form of regulation. Gore argues that we appreciate the difference between '...the pedagogy argued for and the pedagogy of the argument – in the case of critical pedagogy, the former liberatory and transformative, the latter totalising and regulative' (referenced in User, Bryant and Johnston, 1997 : 118).

Another fairly consistent criticism by some of the students was that our deliberations had no pragmatic value and that they were no further down the road to knowing 'what to do' in any given circumstance. They bristled with my common response to their questions 'well, it depends...' as I tried to unpack the complexities of their practice as teachers, tried to point out the importance of putting things in their historical, political and social context. At the same time, however, I appreciated their hunger for certainty and the quality of desperation behind their requests for tools and did not dismiss this as a kind of technical rationality. Teachers face 'a complex instability in a role that still requires authoritative certainty...' (Britzman : 1991), thus, who was I to suggest they embrace uncertainty and chaos, rather than stock pile their pedagogical armories?

There are very real limitations to my bringing an 'emancipatory' strategy to teaching this course, particularly the assumptions and structure of the teacher education programme which, like many other similar programmes, reflected a functionalist approach to socialization. The 'disciplining' practices of professional schools which involve the funneling of multiple locations and experiences into a relatively standardized and regulated arena of institutional activities has been the focus of recent critiques (Britzman : 1991). The students requests for a generic set of tools was not surprising then, given this overarching framework. I was struck by how different it was from my experiences of teaching in the post-degree diploma and graduate adult education programmes where one is not continually dealing with the continual presence of the ghost or shadow of "the school" and "the classroom". The context of the practice of adult education has no common set of institutional structures; rather it takes place in a wide and vast array of contexts, with diverse participants, goals and objectives.

This review of my own practice continues to both fascinate and frustrate me. I have struggled to hold still and name my experience, to find a frame that allows me to deepen my understanding and improve my practice. The dominant sense I am left with is one of illusion, of a shifting, rather ghostly shape that disappears when I attempt to get any closer. Is it a postmodern story? Usher, Bryant and Johnston (1997) suggest that such a story involves 'different and changing realisations, [which] rather than being rejected for fear of incoherence, loss of mastery, discontinuity and inauthenticity, are rather embraced and celebrated' (p. 120-121). Perhaps the lesson to be learned from this moment of reflection is see how my struggles to make sense of this teaching experience mirror the desires of these students for solutions and certainty. Perhaps I am more like them than I care to admit--still very much caught up in the Enlightenment project as I seek a coherent framework for my practice and my teaching experience. The lesson may be that 'postmodern selves...[view] experience [as] the source rather than the raw material of knowledge, ...as pleasurable and valued for itself' (Usher et al, p. 121).

Not the end, but it's where we have to stop:

The Collins English Dictionary (1979) defines frontier as 'the region of a country bordering on another or a line, barrier, etc. marking such a boundary; the edge of a settled area of a country; the limit of knowledge in a particular field; the part of a closure of a topological set that lies outside its interior' (p. 584). Both of us experienced the sense of "lying outside of" the topological set, the contours of teacher education, (not a new sensation for us, for feminism provokes the unsettling of other boundaries), and we wondered often if we *had* reached the limits of our adult education knowledge (and skills) as we were challenged by both the students and the structures of this teacher education programme.

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Imposing spaces in the curriculum of adult learners: models of the same players in different situations

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Introduction

In this paper I explore the proposition that the appropriate use of space within the education of adults is a product of the organisation and acceptance of a particular curriculum approach. If a particular curriculum model is accepted as the way of organising the learning environment of adults it follows that the locus of the control of space, be it intellectual, pedagogical, social, for the learning act rests with the assumptional bases of the model accepted. Building on a previous analysis the paper selects three generic models of curriculum, the Discipline centred approach, the Community centred approach and the Person centred approach to expose the assumptional bases and what necessarily follows, the organisation of space to realise the goals of the particular approach, be it physical, intellectual, pedagogical, historical, or locational.

The definitions

In order to explore the spaces within the education of adults I have adopted the tradition of defining the terms that I will use in the discussion as they may be at odds with commonly accepted views. Secondly I have used the technique of developing models to extract from the real world sufficient to define attributes from it that will enable me to discuss the problems in some meaningful and simplified way.

The title of this paper throws up several words that could have many meanings but I adopt the following for the purposes of discussion. Space I define as geography which is the organisation of space vertically, horizontally and through time. This definition of geography should enable me to overlay the definition of curriculum with an organisational focus that covers much of the final frontier. It is necessary to do this so that I can examine the various curriculum spaces in a tridimensional fashion, a kind of a triangulation activity that should add meaning to the exercise.

The second definition that needs addressing is that of curriculum. For this definition I need to return to my paper presented at the 1998 SCUTREA conference. At this conference I alluded to various definitions of curriculum that derive from the schooling process and pointed out the flaws in these definitions. The definitions that saw curriculum as the formal planned activities carried out under the auspices of an institution largely ignored the reality of the informal spaces of adult education and training. Such narrowly focussed definitions also allowed the institution to control the space given to site, and the formal instructional modes. Nevertheless a definition was arrived at that pointed to the notion that curriculum had five defining attributes. These were that the curriculum was a goal oriented document (even in the limiting case of total laissez faire, to have no goals was a goal statement); second that a set of means made explicit through detailed plans would be embodied in such a document. Adult educators who derive their livelihood from training packages can appreciate this statement and incidentally are quick to point out the failing if the details are not commensurate with the expectations developed through advertising hype! The last two attributes relate to decision-making prerogatives and value preferences. The decision-making prerogatives relate to the particular curriculum model explicitly or implicitly used to deliver the content. I discuss this later in the paper as I develop three models of curriculum. The value preferences often implicit in developing the product and in its delivery mark out various aspects of the curriculum development approach process. Specifically the 1998 paper said:

> There appears to be five defining attributes that encompass the range of curriculum perspectives and definitions. These minimal defining attributes are embedded in the processes of each particular curriculum development and thus implicitly and explicitly guide the idiosyncrasies of each approach. They are the bases for the particular curricular approach adopted. The defining attributes are: goal directedness; means; plans; decision-making prerogatives; and valuing preferences. Curriculum then is a values oriented document that encompasses action plans and the means to carry them out. Such documents also designate explicitly or implicitly who is to carry out the plans. In adult education this can be the teacher, facilitator, tutor, student/client in anyone of a number of learning locations (buildings, communities), environments (groups, individuals), and contexts (curriculum approaches) (Cavanagh, 1998)

Curriculum approaches

There can be any number of curriculum approaches. However the literature typically reduces them to four overarching models that are general enough to cover most of the variations in the real world: the Discipline Centred approach; the Broad Fields approach; the Community Centred approach; and the Individual or Experienced Centred approach. Each of these approaches to curriculum theory and development and as a consequence of this to teaching, learning and research has its own set of goals, means plans embodying decision-making prerogatives that explicitly or implicitly point to the acceptance of a particular set of value preferences. For the purposes of this paper I will summarise the three approaches that appear to have the most relevance to the field of adult education and to the organisation of space in the instructional process.

However before doing this it appears necessary to explore the definition of space. Within the field of geography space is the ultimate consolidation concept for it is in the organisation of space horizontally, vertically and through time that much of geography acquires meaning. If I attempt to apply the geographical concept to adult education and adopt the tridimensional construct I can begin to construct a model that may allow me to understand the various frontiers of the education of adults as seen through a particular curriculum focus. If I align the vertical of space with bureaucracy, for example, and superimpose on this a definition of curriculum that sees hierarchy as the way to fashion curriculum, certain organisations of space follows. For example, the discipline removes from the individual any notion of individually valued knowledge within that space deemed intellectual authority. What are the curriculum approaches?

The discipline centred approach

Mastery of the facts and to apply the problem-solving skills of the discipline to solving discipline based problems is the key to this curriculum approach. Intellectual space is controlled by the professors of the subject. Teaching and learning are planned according to a pre-determined logical order of the discipline. Teachers and learners work with pre-determined content (chosen by the professors who control the research space) with learners having little say in decision making regarding their learning. The assumptions underlying this approach to curriculum is encapsulated in the statement that the acquisition of knowledge and understanding for its own sake is the primary educational good.

The learner centred/experience approach

The emphasis within this design is on co-operation with the learner so that they can identify and carry out their own programme of learning. The learner controls the intellectual space in this approach. Content is determined by the individuals needs, interests, and stages of development and the scope of the content is only confined by the learners world at any given time. The curriculum priorities are expressed through consideration of the learner's needs, interests, abilities and through the learner's biography, reflection, imagination, reasoning etc. From this it can be deduced that the educational focus of the curriculum is firmly embedded in the individual learner. There typically is no prescribed content. Knowledge and understanding have value only in so far as they assist the learners personal development.

Community centred approach

The emphasis on this design is on the diagnosed problems of the community. The knowledge base comes from the community through its organisations and people. The problems to solve and the knowledge to acquire is extracted from the community range of offerings. Fixing the water supply, delivers the maths to be taught, the physics laws to manipulate. Soil erosion in the field supplants the text book. The elders and the artefacts contain the knowledge base for curriculum decisions. There should be sufficient definitional qualities described in the forgoing paragraphs to enable me to now use the definitions to examine the frontiers of the education of adults and the spaces they occupy within the various curriculum development approaches. Limitations placed on the length of this paper necessarily restrict the above 'models' to very sketchy descriptions of the pure models detailed in the literature. These models do not appear in the real world. They are abstractions from it for the purpose of debate.

Organising the space

I propose in this section to select each curriculum approach and subject a selection of the defining tenets of the curriculum approach to the attributes of space detailed in the opening paragraphs, namely vertically, horizontally and through time to see if some light can be cast on the exploration of spaces in the education of adults.

What are the key propositions concerning teacher, knowledge, authority, evaluation/ assessment, roles of participants as they occupy various spaces within designated curriculum designs?

If a discipline centred approach is being adopted for the organisation of curriculum then it follows that vertically the content is organised according to the cannons of the discipline. A long apprenticeship is needed in this intellectual space to acquire the professoriate knowledge base. Individual knowledge is only accepted if it is derived in linear fashion from ' standing on the shoulders of giants' who made their mark in manipulating the knowledge base from within the confines of the discipline. Personal knowledge is frowned upon and derided. Interdisciplinary approaches cannot happen. All problems are solvable from within the discipline framework. Collaboration across the disciplines is abhorrent, time consuming and unproductive and of course outside the framework of the discipline which does not have the intellectual tools to deal with such issues. It has always been this way. Through time the discipline controls its boundaries through a vertical authority structure ranging from the professor to the neophyte. In order to develop curriculum and programmes from within this space personal space must be relinquished.

On the other hand if the learner or experience centred approach is adopted, the learner's personal development is the primary educational good. The learner is the central organisational theme. From this good everything else follows. The intellectual space is controlled by the learner. His or her knowledge is the ultimate arbiter in things intellectual. The organisation of intellectual space within this curriculum cannot be developed in isolation from the recipient. There is no hierarchical space as the needs interests wishes desires of the individual learner must be to quote Deweys' term 'psychologized' for the learner. The environmental space from which the learner has come forms the essential backdrop for the organisation of content. The discipline may be used but only after it has been reconstituted through the eyes of the learner and attached to his or her previous learning. Historically the space must form an integral part of the learning mass. There is no higher authority to appeal to than the continual reorganisation of experience that adds to and subsequently guides further experience. Dewey's definition of education thus forms the background for the horizontal, vertical and historical organisation of space in these adult educational forums.

Community centred curriculum as its name implies looks to other authorities when the organisation of spatial frontiers need to be examined. It is within the community that vertical integration of space needs to be taken into consideration if meaning is to be made out of this approach to the organisation of learning. The highest appeal to authority rests with the community. Often in aboriginal communities the most valued knowledge base resides within the elders and often such knowledge base cannot be challenged. In other community oriented curriculum the farmer is the expert. However, such an approach does not rule out the disciplines or the individualised approaches. Rather the filtering screen for intellectual, social and physical organisation of space is the community expectations and values. Historically conservatism might reign, although this has not always been the case in such things as environmental education or agrarian revolutions. The community is the source of the knowledge base for the next generations.

The space invaders

What does all this mean in terms of the organisation of curriculum for the spaces occupied by adult learners? One of the salient points to be considered is the type of questions that can be posed and answered with the minimum of anxiety once the various approaches to curriculum are detailed and their assumptional (value) bases are made known. Many things follow consistently and the discomfiture that is felt by adults and adult educators operating from within spaces that are at cross purposes might be minimised by understanding from where the spatial orientations originate. The problems associated with the mismatches of curriculum type and the consequent issues of space that follow can be ameliorated if the valuing dimensions that drive the particular spaces are made explicit (vertically, horizontally and through time) articulated and acted upon from within the paradigm of best fit.

The discipline space

Within this orientation spaces are controlled without too much reference to the learner as if the knowledge base was vested only in a specific group of learners (adult, typically professorial, specialised). However, appeal is made to these adults only once they themselves have undergone a long apprenticeship and have been inculcated into the habits of thought (the methodology) of the discipline. The value and hence the control of space is knowledge reconceptualised along only the lines well known to the members of the discipline. These controllers typically have a select club that usually requires a university honours degree, followed up by a doctorate and publications as entree. The knowledge base is controlled by academe through peer review, published papers, and a journal that only allows papers that follow the canons of the discipline. Rigid lines of enforcement in terms of testing and grading are the hallmarks of this frontier. Subject concepts are arranged vertically in lines of increasing difficulty of mastery. The simple to the complex, prerequisites and co-requisites, 100 levels before 200 levels etc. The expert is the ultimate controller of what is to be learnt and certificated. If the learner is aware of the rules and can come to terms with them and brush aside failure whilst suppressing there own knowledge base until an appropriate time this approach to the final frontier is all laid out for them.

The Individual space

Perhaps when Dewey wrote in 1933, '*Experience and Education*', of the need for an analysis of the old schools and the new with the view to adopting the best of both, understood the problems associated with the worst of the disciplines and the worst of the individual approaches to curriculum. He explains that experience by itself can be educative or miseducative. The learner in the individual space cannot do anything they want based on their interests but rather that the interests should act as a conduit, a means towards an end, an end, that is always an end in view. Thus his continual reconstruction of experience is based not only on the perceived wisdom of the individual alone but in concert with a knowledge base which may be a discipline. Within the realms of adult education often this concept is jettisoned in favour of the extremes of individualism. Obviously this can only hold when non-certification is the issue. When vestiges of the discipline approach impinge on this space (certification) spatial dislocation is often the outcome where messages of individual knowledge bases are subverted in preference to the authority. The individual space is premised on the notion of constructivist perspectives. It is not too difficult to understand the notion of objectivists (discipline based) being disgruntled with constructivists who see space as an interaction between the learner, the content, and the context. The control of the vertical (authority) horizontal (context) and time (experiences) give a much broader meaning to the notion of the final frontier than from within the discipline paradigm.

The community space

This space gives top priority to the community as the source of wisdom. It is important to state that the authority for the organisation and distribution of learning resources lies in the context of community problems. It is through the community that the various problems are reconceptualised into a knowledge base amenable for study and subsequent resolution. Saylor, Alexander and Simpson (1974) explore a variety of curriculum types under this category. The one common thing that each alternative approach has is that the knowledge base that has the highest authority and, hence determines what should be taught learned and studied, is that knowledge that resides in the social problems of the community. Persistent life situations can become the focus for the organisation of content for the curriculum as can a variety of social problems experienced by the community or social reconstruction activities aimed at identifying societal problems and possibilities and solving them.

Conclusions

I have tried to show that the selection and organisation of content, to be taught within the adult educational frontiers can be conceived of in a variety of ways. I have alluded to three possible models of conceptualising the space allocated to the frontier as envisaged by the adoption of these models. I have begun to explore the space by conceptualising the models under a definition of space that occupies three dimensions, the vertical, the horizontal and time. Within each of the models specific value preferences relating to selection of content to be taught will determine the orientation and value placed on the content type, be it discipline, individual or community. From this preference a number of situations can be clearly articulated relating to the decision-making prerogatives that will determine who is the authority within the space allocated to the curriculum.

Mismatches do occur where within a discipline based space (horizontal, vertical and through time) students demand the right to be heard based on their own experiences; where community elders wish to have included in the curriculum community based information which is of a high order preference to them but of little account within the discipline or the individual space and; where individuals demand to be heard as a right above the communal good and often in opposition to it or the discipline. The same logic can be applied in order to trace the mismatches that occur in matters of funding, institutional organisation (the room or the field), the text book or the personal history, teacher or facilitator. The analysis can be applied to answer the following questions either within the curriculum planning process or at regular intervals within the processes of adoption, evaluation and modification. The critical questions are concerned with subjecting the final frontier to increasing scrutiny when questions of exploring the spaces arise. The questions are: What is the role of the teacher(discipline), facilitator (individual/community)? Who has the right to select the content to be taught learnt and studied ? (the teacher/professor, the individual, the community). What type of evaluation is valued? Where will the learning be located (formal institution, community resources, the field, at home, on the net?) When will the learning take place (formally, incidentally, incrementally, wholistically)? How will the outcomes be valued? It should be highlighted that I am referring to abstractions from reality. None of these models exist in its pure state. Many of the assumptional bases are implicit and are often not amenable to analysis unless they are abstracted. Yet in abstracting one must question the bases upon which the abstraction was undertaken.

Finally in attempting to make the bases of curriculum development explicit through analysis and model building the clouded frontiers that exist within the field of adult education concerning who has the right to decide upon the identification of curriculum goals, means, plans, value preferences and decision making prerogatives in curriculum development within a variety of spaces may be enhanced and subject to critical scrutiny.

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A woman's life remembered: Autoethnographic reflections of an adult/educator

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For the first time in 10 years I went home to my mother's for Christmas. On Christmas Day my cousin Laurel stopped by for a cup of coffee. Living in a small town in Northern Saskatchewan, where employment is fitful at best, and usually part-time or seasonal, Laurel has become a surprisingly successful entrepreneur. As a saleswoman she is gifted--and remorseless; I clutched my wallet tightly as I asked her what she was doing these days. She has sold Avon, Tupperware, Regal Gifts, Nutrametics, insurance, home made bannock, and Watkins, and she 'helps' her husband sell Electrolux vacuums... and now?

'Creative Memory, that's the big thing! Parties, and courses, and workshops in it, they come round to your house, and you buy all the supplies and they teach you how to do your life history, you use old photos and letters and all sorts of things. I'm waiting to be trained!' she said, 'It's really big business. Of course, you probably don't get into that kind of thing at that university of yours!'.

'Oh, no', I replied, 'the life story thing is pretty big up there too!' That's what I want to do in this paper--share some stories, creative memories, if you like, about how I have been using my educational biography as a teacher and a learner to better understand my place and time in adult education.

Storying: the new self-help movement in education?

Firstly, I want to offer some suggestions as to why (auto)biographics has become such a widespread phenomenon in education--and in everyday life. We encourage students to use life stories, for example, to reflect on their experiences as learners, teachers or administrators (Clandinin and Connelly, 1994). Some of us use *their* stories for *our* research. (Why do only *some* of us use our *own* stories?) Is this new, all part of the postmodern moment, this turn to textuality, this telling of life stories, or is it, simply, an old adult education practice revisioned? Millennial or perennial? Confessional construction of subjectivities? (Usher et al, 1997). Narcissistic and self-indulgent? Or is 'writing a life' about 'getting a life' (Smith & Watson, 1996), is it about writing ourselves back into society... knowingly?

Perhaps it is all of these things. Narrative research is deeply implicated in contemporary conflicts over theory, methodology, and politics in scholarly investigation. Trying to find a simple definition for narrative exemplifies this confusion. Denzin (1997) cautions that, 'the very word, biographical, implying as it does the ability to write or inscribe words on a life, eludes fixed meaning, for lives, like words, exist only in traces, spaces, and difference.' Personal narrative as a research device is congruent with: the shift away from positivism toward interpretivism, where meaning has become a central focus; a prevailing, possibly narcissistic, interest in 'the empty self', a search response generated by the fragmentation and nihilism experienced by many in postmodern and existentialist cultures; with the social movements that, from the 50's on, demonstrated a felt need amongst those involved for a sense of human agency and identity; demographic trends in the university population, resulting in the 'undermining of the conservative glorification of the great White Men in the established auto-biographical tradition'(Casey, p. 215) and the celebration instead of ordinary people's heroism; and, especially, to the questions about representation, authority and power raised by anti-racist, post-colonial and feminist theory and practice.

This congruence, between narrative and the decentreing of traditional, positivist, forms of educational/academic methodologies has resulted in a siege mentality in some quarters. Just as narrative has many characteristics and forms, so, too, are there almost as many objections to it. From the most frequently voiced, that personal narrative is solipsistic, sentimental and self-serving to doubts about the value of narrative studies in the academy and concomitant ethical questions about supervision, judgment, differing values, rigour, reliability, congruent style, methods and goals - there as many stories about story as there are stories.

Life/stories in popular culture

There are three features of the so-called turn to the (auto)biographical within popular culture that deserve comment. Firstly, there is nothing new about storying; it has always been part of the human condition. The human need to make meaning of life's events, traumas and crises, as well as to (re)arrange the vagaries of everyday chaos into a narrative that structures unpredictability and tames uncertainty is ancient. We tell our lives, daily, in a repetition of stories, beginning and ending, rewriting and reforming ourselves. In a world with no certainty - and the postmodern is probably no more nor less unpredictable than any other era - we story ourselves into a comprehensible existence. Oral cultures, written cultures, machine cultures, electronic cultures - the common thread is the self-story. But, and here is the second point worth making, the modern age has heralded a new story.

Foucault tells us in *Discipline and Punish*, that with modernity, and its shift from sovereign power to the bureaucratic, to governmentality, comes the storying of subjects by the State, whereby subjectification is embedded in a network of writing, an essential part of the mechanism of discipline. The exam (either medical, or educational) makes possible the writing up of an individual as describable and analyzable, and also makes possible the ordering of a multiplicity by the description of groups. These are all small techniques, notations, registrations, filing, facts in columns and figures, familiar, innocuous, but, taken together they make the science of the individual possible, for 'The exam surrounded by all its documentary techniques, makes each individual a 'case', a case...which constitutes an object for knowledge.' This reverses the past, where only the great were written about, documented for future memory. From the privilege accorded a few, the writing and recording of an individual, their biographing, becomes commonplace and 'fixes' the individual. Anxiously, willingly, too, we confess ourselves into being, self-regulate and self-create, obsessively telling ourselves into life, creating our own cases.

Those of us in education know this, of course. Grading, evaluations, assessments are so routinized as to be unnoticed; the discursive practices that fix educational subjects are rendered invisible by their banality. Education is but one facet of the bureaucratic machine that writes us all - and in which we write or story ourselves, willingly or not; we fill in those forms, daily, weekly, monthly, yearly, as if our very lives depend upon them, as they do. We narrate and document and are so documented, our identity contained in our wallets, with all their plastic and laminated stories, the ones that proclaim we exist.

So we are written, storied into official life. But with power, productive as well as dominating, comes resistance. Thus, simultaneously complying and maybe lying, we story ourselves in a myriad of individual ways. 'We are habitual authenticators of our own lives. Every day we are confessing and constructing personal narratives in every possible format: on the body, on the air, in music, in print, at meetings....we are culturally obsessed with getting a life, and not just getting it, but sharing it with and advertising it to others. We are as well, obsessed with consuming the lives that other people have got.' (Smith and Watson, 1997, : 2-3). In this getting of lives, we may refuse the official, governmental life as it is issued us in offices, forms, and plastic cards. We may choose to be silent, and not story. We may 'camp' it up, perform the life so given in ways that parody it and reduce its power. And as each life is produced, excessively, we can work with that excess, reconstitute our lives differently, subject our selves to new narratives, and walk away with a different story. Each day, there can be a different ending to yesterday's story, a fresh start.

Or is this just an academic story? Am I being lured, as Britzman (1997) says, toward the promise of educational research as 'self-help'? Researchers, she claims, are 'recovering from objectivity.' One of the methodological forms of the 'new' educational research is the autoethnographic. Ironically, the term first appears in a description of schoolchildren, but it has since been co-opted by feminist autobiographers, anthropologists, sociologists and postcolonial theorists- - as well as educational researchers like me.

Autoethnography: writing back the self

Many use the word autoethnographic to describe research or projects which are either autobiographic or autochthonous. Texts which incorporate other's words into otherwise autobiographic material, the inclusion of writing which aims to be 'creative' or 'authentic' within ethnographic reports, and the presentation of ethnographic studies in genres other than the traditional text, these have all been termed autoethnographic.

Feminist autobiography

I'd like to pick up one thread here - the link to feminist autobiography. Autoethnography has been inspired by feminist autobiography to risk writing about the everyday, about lives that once were not accounted important enough for the researcher to bother with, and to risk researching in one's own 'backyard', where autobiography resists theory, but theory equally resists autobiography. Feminist autobiography is marked by its turn to a theory of self that is non unitary, but embedded in intertextually socio-historical situations, and which subscribes to a belief that selfhood differs for men and women. Feminist autobiography does not generally tell the story of 'the subject', instead it consistently, if unevenly, recognizes the situatedness of its author in other's stories.

But women have always written their own lives, too. All kinds of women. All kinds of lives. All kinds of writing. Journals, diaries, memoirs, these gossipy productions were always sanctioned, and today, feminist autobiography still concerns itself with women's everyday lives. Lives that are lived politically, that are transnational and transgendered, historicized and situated; lives that are cultural representations; lives whose telling tells of subjectivity and subjectivity's place in a postmodern world. Feminist autobiography accepts that because differences among women are pervasive it is hard to theorize across categories, but much emphasis is still placed on locating the similarities of women's experiences in their diaries, oral histories, and biographic works. Feminist work acknowledges that one woman's life can be used as a synecdoche, a metonymical allegorical device, for Woman/Life.

Autoethnography across the social sciences

For my own purposes, I feel the need to go beyond my own autobiography. I want some Others in my work. At this point I turn to anthropology and the social sciences with their long history of ethnographically (mis)representing the Other. For anthropologists, auto/ethnography is a doubled word: It can refer to an ethnography of one's own group or culture; to so called backyard anthropology, or the 'anthropology at home', approach; or auto/ethnography can refer to autobiographical writing that has some ethnographic interest. Auto/ethnography is used to describe either a text or a method which is self-ethnographic or a text that is autobiographically ethnographic. Anthropological alternatives to ethnographic realism include confessional ethnographies, dramatic ethnography, critical ethnography (for example, Willis' classic educational ethnography, *Learning to labour*), and self or autoethnographies wherein the ethnographer as the native questions claims for authenticity and deconstructs the insider/outsider dichotomy. Other approaches stress the autobiographical over the ethnographical, with forms of life history in which the anthropologist is the subject and whose interest lies in the cultural phenomenon they reveal. Such stories remain committed to the project of using ethnographic methods to describe social life. As ethnography becomes autobiographical and autobiography reflects cultural and social frames of reference, the most commonly agreed definition seems to be that *autoethnography is a form of self-narrative that places the self in a social context* (Reed-Danahay, 1997).

Creative writing as autoethnography

Works by Carolyn Ellis and Art Bochner (1994), and the *Women writing culture* collection by Ruth Behar and Deborah Gordon, reflect the 'creative writing up of ethnography', which offers aesthetic, reflexive postethnographic interpretations of research projects. Ellis calls for writing that is affective, emotional, personal, and which seeks to make 'connections.' Rather than proving validity and reliability, this kind of research seeks to make itself useful, powerful and political in its use of the everyday. Here ethnography is an *activity* - inscribing patterns of cultural experience, and undertaking cultural analysis. If social science research is about how to encourage connections between those who create ethnographies and those who receive them, then literary and artistic treatments of ethnographic texts can enhance that connection.

But while I believe in and support all of these strategies of representation, these do not constitute autoethnography. Autoethnography is, for me, a political, dialectical and interactive strategy.

Re/searching memories in the postcolonial moment

Mary Louise Pratt (1992) offers a useful and critically postcolonial reading of autoethnography. Autoethnographic expressions are, she says 'instances in which colonized subjects represent themselves in ways which engage with the colonizer's own terms'. Usual ethnographic texts are representations of 'the other' by the European ethnographer. Auto-ethnographic texts are the means whereby 'the others' construct themselves in response to or in dialogue with those metropolitan representations. Autoethnography involves 'partial collaboration with and appropriation of the idioms of the conqueror.' Those idioms can be transformed or merged or infiltrated with indigenous modes. Often they are bilingual or dialogic. They are typically heterogenously addressed to both metropolitan readers and to literate sectors of the writer's own social group - and they will be received very differently by each audience.

Autoethographic texts are widespread phenomenon of the contact zone, 'the space of colonial encounters', where peoples who have been geographically and historically separate come together to establish relations. Usually 'coercion, radical inequality and intractable conflict' mark this space. 'Contact' comes from linguistics, where it describes the improvised languages speakers use to communicate, usually in the context of trade--such languages are often chaotic, barbarous and lacking in structure. 'Contact zone' emphasizes how subjects are constituted in the interactive, improvisational dimensions of colonial encounters; it also underscores how interlocking and co-present are such relationships, not withstanding radically asymmetrical relations of power.

Why choose such a definition, such a methodology, to frame my project which seeks to understand how educational discourses, practices and institutions inscribe identity on the body of the learner? Because, of course, my project is political, feminist, and I need to represent not just the process to myself--an autobiographic and worthwhile cause--but I also have to represent this inscription back to the inscribers/educators/metropolitans. Those in the metropolis/teacher's chair/Headmistress' office are unaware, or choose to be unaware, that their representations of themselves and others are shaped by the representations that come back, are written back to them, from the periphery. Thus the dialogic setting of borders, the casting of roles, the handing out of scripts for the parts called Colonizer, Colonized, Metropolis and Periphery, Other and Self, Learner, Teacher, these are dialectical, historicized interactive acts.

I want to note, too, that for me, as for Freire, education is never a neutral process - it is either the practice of freedom or the continuation of domination. I take, therefore, the position that I have, in my time as school child, adolescent, undergraduate, training-teacher, and graduate student, lived in a contact zone marked by 'coercion, radical inequality and intractable conflict' and that my corporeal identity, in its surface re-presentation, has been inscribed in asymmetrical relations of power. My hope is that in my roles as educator, university instructor, peer tutor, and role model, I can engage knowingly in a metropolitan performance that acknowledges the representations of my co-constructers on the educational periphery. For until we are all deschooled there will always be a center and a margin in university adult education.

I choose to use a portfolio approach for my re-presenting of my self. I see the portfolio as an opportunity to infiltrate the idioms of the conqueror - academic prose, literature reviews and analyses - with poetry, life stories, fairy tales, narratives of hope, narratives of despair. My installation of words, my gallery of lessons from life, offer me an opportunity to show in many ways how education has made me, how I have helped make me. Visuals, too, for every ethnographer knows the value of a picture, a photograph, a drawing, that shows the metropolitan reader the exotic subject as it 'really is'. By taking up some of the critiques of visual representation presented by feminist artists, critical and psychoanalytical postmodern strategies, I recuperate vision, long the conqueror's tool, appropriate it for my own use in seeing what is written on my body - and heart and soul.

Legitimation, messy texts, rigour, and confession

Lastly, I want to take up the question of relevance and of legitimation - what makes this study of mine useful, true, legitimate, valid? My autoethnographic text, as a 'messy' (Denzin, 1997) postmodern ethnography, refuses traditional calls for legitimation and textual authority, claiming instead that all ethnographic practices are ways of acting in the world, where the authority or validity of these actions is determined by the nature of the critical understandings they produce, and the way they instantiate a cultural practice, a story telling performance, that is shot through with shifting conflicting cultural meanings. As a feminist biographer, rather than asking if my stories are 'true', I ask 'what or whose interests are served by references to such concepts?' Feminist research protocols call for my text to be a catalyst for action, and to embody *connections* - emotional, political and subjective; I assess the worth of my story based on its politics, and the form of values or ethics or morals that are immanent within it. A word, too, about the use of the confessional. Many reject auto-biographical writing that is 'too' personal, too confessional, calling for all such texts to engage theory with experience in a dialectical exchange that renders such writing political and useful to others beyond the writer (Griffiths, 1995). But I note, with Moorti (1998), that such confessionals can be used to create a discursive space in which 'non-hegemonic definitions [of oppression] can be articulated'. And while Ellis remarks that the very intimate nature of much personal writing and the visceral reactions it elicits - especially from more traditionally oriented researchers - can be both a strength and a weakness, I vacillate over the exposure of emotions and self and its usefulness. There are no constant answers, it seems, no certainties.

And just where does my scholarly use of autoethnography intersect with my cousin Laurel's creative memory and personal story business? Such endeavors are not new to adult educators (Birren, 1991; Walden, 1995; Edwards, Usher, 1996). What is new, it seems to me is that we are allowing ourselves to join with our students, and as well as encouraging them to narrate themselves, we are writing ourselves back, telling our own stories. In using an autoethnography to so write, I believe we might be better able to examine the constructions of identity that we elicit from our students. I recently taught the last of a series of courses on instructional skills to a group of adults wanting certification for personal and business purposes; I was at first uncomfortable, then perturbed by their self-descriptions, their stories of themselves. 'I am a diverger, I can only learn that way. I am an adult student, I have to learn in groups. I am an adult learner, so I must link my previous experience with new information.' While we can, as good poststructuralists, deconstruct the documenting of the individual and the confessional practices that my cousin Laurel will use in her venture, and even surface our own self-regulating discourses, let's try to re-write our own practice, too.

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Identity, location and the making of adult educators

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Identity at work

In the human and social sciences terms such as the 'self', the 'subject' and 'subjectivity', have recently been the focus of unprecedented critique. The tendency of these categories to represent the self as a unified, originary and integral construct, at the centre of the self-sustaining individual, has been problematised, as have notions of the self that constitute it as the product of social relations. Increasingly, discourses to do with ideas of the self use terms such as contingency, multiplicity and fragmentation and the term identity, in particular, as come to the fore in contemporary discourses that speak of subjectivity.

The reasons for this discursive shift involve, among other things, the recognition that concepts of the self should not be seen as neutral representations of the subject-person but rather as discursive interventions that do important political and cultural work in constructing, maintaining and transforming both individuals and their social world. Contemporary feminist, post-colonial and cultural studies commentators, for example, point to the way in which conceptions of identity that are based on notions of gender, class, race and national or cultural allegiance, work to obliterate difference through the discursive construction of sameness (Pateman 1989, Butler 1993, hooks 1994). Others highlight the fragility and constructed nature of identity arguing that it has no enduring meaning but is subject to continuing cultural and historical re-formation (Hall and du Gay, 1996). Commentators such as Rosaldo (1993) point to the immanent connection between identity and cultural formation and this, in turn, has led to re-newed interest in the relationship between the workplace as both a site of cultural formation and a site where identity is constructed (du Gay 1996).

Making connections between the institutional practices of work and identity formation is based on the acknowledgement in social theory that all social practices, including work practices must be meaningful to the people involved. To conduct any social practice social actors must have a conception of it in order to think meaningfully about it. The production of meaning is therefore a necessary condition for the functioning of all social practices. An individual's identification with shared social meanings, constitute identity formation and can be seen as a process of reality construction through which social actors interpret particular events, actions or situations in distinctive ways. It therefore provides the mechanism by which individuals can make sense of their social practices.

Recent changes to vocational education and training policies in Australia, together with the discourses that construct them, are promoting new educational realities in the public institution of Technical and Further Education (TAFE). These discourse insert new meaning-making practices for teachers working in this organisation and at the same time disrupt the previous institutional practices that formerly contributed to the formation of TAFE teachers identities. In this paper I examine the ways in which the policies of government are constructing these new meaning-making practices within this institution and explore the effects of these changes on TAFE teachers identities. Before beginning this investigation I will outline the concept of identity that grounds this project.

There is an increasing recognition by social and cultural commentators that identity formation is a contingent and constructed concept, one that is subject to continuing social and historical transformation. Moreover, it is now conceptualised not through any assertion of some naturally occurring sameness but rather as a process of identification that imposes itself across difference.

Consequently, discursive work must be done in order to construct the boundaries used to differentiate one particular identity from that which surrounds it. Without this discursive work the process of identification across difference would be rendered impossible.
This discursive approach to identity formation has a number of implications. Firstly, it suggests that identities are never unified but consist of multiple processes of identification that are constructed by different, often intersecting and antagonistic discursive practices that make particular identifications possible. This leads to the idea that the formation of identity is an ambiguous project that owes its existence to particular discursive interventions. This in turn suggests that the construction of identity is both a strategic and positional process. Identities are constructed by the deployment of specific enunciative strategies that circulate in specific institutional sites and at particular historical moments.

In the context of this study, therefore, any explanation concerning the construction of TAFE teachers' identities must look to both the historical and contemporary discourses that all circulate within the institutional life of the organisation. It must also indicate how these discourses work to distinguish TAFE teachers from other teachers in the educational project. I begin by reviewing three dominant historical discourses that have circulated in the institution of TAFE and which all work to construct the organisation and its teachers as different from the 'others' in education.

Industrial skill development, liberal education and public service

Government involvement in technical education in Australia began in 1882 with the establishment of a Board of Technical Education. The rationale for this development reflected increasing concerns that public school education was failing to provide an adequate supply of skilled labour to the rapidly expanding primary and secondary industrial base of the economy. Technical education was thus created specifically to service the labour needs of industry and the economy more generally. Although technical education experienced remarkable growth over the next eighty years, until the nineteen seventies, the dominant discourses of government continued to construct the institution as one involved in industrial skill development. TAFE was as an institution responsible for industrial training; an institution quite distinct from the institutions of schools and universities which were constructed as educational organisations with much broader educational and social goals.

The discourses of industrial skill development construct TAFE teachers in particular ways. While staff working in technical education have always laid claim to the title teacher, historically, this title was based on their claim to the specialised vocational knowledge of a trade or other occupation, rather than any claim to educational knowledge. Indeed for much of its history TAFE teachers had no recognised teaching qualification or educational training of any kind. For the most part, what distinguished these teachers from their colleagues in industry was that they passed on their specialised occupational knowledge and skills in public education institutions away from the workplace.

The discourses of industrial skill development construct TAFE teachers as industry practitioners who happen to teach and this position continues to be reflected in TAFE recruitment policies that require teachers to have industrial expertise. At the same time TAFE does not require part-time teachers to have any educational training. A number of studies (Chappell 1998, Smith ,1997) indicate that TAFE teachers continue to construct an identity based on their claim to industrial expertise. It remains an important discourse that TAFE teachers use to construct their occupational identity, this discourse acting as a point of difference that distinguishes TAFE teachers from the other teachers in education.

By the early nineteen seventies a second discourse emerged in government policies to do with TAFE. The discourse of liberal education constructed a significantly different institution from one responsible for providing industry with a suitably skilled workforce. Using the principles established in the landmark UNESCO report 'Learning to Be: The World of Education Today and Tomorrow', the right of all people to education and lifelong learning', published in 1972, the Kangan Report (ACOTAFE 1974) constructed a new identity for technical education in Australia. For the first time, an educational philosophy was set out for vocational education and training, based on the principles of access, equity, the primacy of the individual learner in the learning process. This discourse also for the first time emphasised the need for continuing and life-long learning and an increased emphasis on adult education. It challenged the narrow technico-instrumental view of training promoted by the discourse of industrial skill development and brought the institution of TAFE much closer to the discourses used to construct the institutional identity of public schools. TAFE, in a similar way to schools, was now constructed as an educational institution concerned as much with individual learning, educational need, personal and social development as it was with industry skill development.

It was around this time that the recruitment policies of technical education changed in relation to its teaching staff (Kinsman 1992:29). More generalist teachers were recruited to service the increasing number of TAFE students returning to TAFE to continue or repeat general education courses. Specific TAFE teacher-training programmes were also introduced and these programmes distinguished these programmes from school teacher-training by inserting the discourse of adult education into these courses. Thus TAFE teachers were not only constructed as industry practitioners but were also constructed as liberal educators involved in the education and training of adults.

The discourses of industrial skill development and adult education remain powerful sense making constructions within the institution of TAFE. They provide a persuasive rationale for the existence of TAFE as a particular type of educational institution. Perhaps more importantly in the context of this study, these discourses also provide TAFE teachers with a persuasive rationale for constructing an identity as a particular type of teacher.

The third discourse involved in the construction of TAFE, and its teachers, is the discourse of public service. Although this discourse is by no means exclusive to TAFE it does, nevertheless, contribute to the construction of institutional identity and the occupational identity of its teachers. The discourse of public service is inextricably linked to the rise of the liberal democratic State. The emergence of liberal democracy is characterised by the increasing involvement of the State in the social, cultural and economic life of society, largely, through the construction of various state instrumentalities and bureaucracies including those of public education.

These bureaucracies have in turn been constructed by particular discourses that foreground the political and ethical features of liberal democratic governance including a focus on issues such as probity, fairness, consistency in decision making, equity and the adherence to law. Public sector institutions and the staff that work in them are thus characterised by particular institutional practices and particular modes of conduct. They are not only asked to deliver politically sanctioned social services but are asked to deliver these services in ways that are equitable, impartial, consistent, directed and which adhere to the rules and regulations of public service and political accountability.

The identity of TAFE teachers has, therefore, been constructed, at least in part, by these three dominant discourses. Each, in different ways, have provided TAFE with a persuasive rationale that ëmarksf them as different from other teachers in the education and training project.

New vocationalism and economic rationalism

For more than a decade now government polices in education have been grounded in discourses that point to the uncertain economic times facing advanced capitalist economies. The globalisation of national economies, rapidly changing markets, increased global competition for goods and labour, new technological innovations and the movement from mass production to flexible specialisation in the productive process (Castells 1993:15-18) are all used to suggest that educational systems must be reformed to ensure that they fully contribute to the economic adaptations required of modern societies. These reforms have usually included the promotion of a much greater involvement of business and industry in the development and implementation of educational curricula. This has resulted in the implementation of competency-based training, a greater emphasis on work-based and workplace learning and the emergence of industry training being given equivalent status as that conducted in TAFE institutions.

The domination of economic discourses in the educational policy formulation of governments has been labelled the new vocationalism (Purvis & Walford 1988, Grubb 1996, Ball 1994). New vocationalism emphasises the need for all educational institutions to contribute to national economic imperatives and, for the most part are embedded within human capital theories of economic performance. They promote the idea that economic development is intimately connected to the level of skill and ability of the workforce and are a common feature of the educational discourses of many OECD governments (Papadopolous 1996).

A second economic discourse has also influenced contemporary educational policies. Economic rationalism (market liberalism) promotes the view that government should withdraw from many of its traditional social responsibilities and promote market-style environments and commercial business practices within state services, including education (Pusey 1991, Marginson 1994). It calls for the installation of a culture of 'enterprise' and 'excellence' within the public sector (OECD/CERI 1989, du Gay1996: 56) and advocates increased accountability, quality and competition in public sector services. It is also commonly associated with policies that involve the privatisation of state owned assets, the reining in of public spending and reduced budgetary allocations for public sector services.

The discourses of new vocationalism and economic rationalism have joined the discourses of industrial skill development, liberal education and public service in constructing the institutional practices of TAFE and its teachers. Moreover, they insert new meaning-making practices in the organisation which interact and contradict each other in complex ways. They have also challenged the persuasive rationale that TAFE teachers have used to construct their identity as particular types of teacher.

At one level the focus on business and industry, at the centre of new vocationalism, compliments TAFE teachers' existing understanding of their identity within their educational institution. As was outlined earlier, the discourses of industrial skill development construct TAFE teachersf primarily as industry practitioners and TAFE teachersf identification with industry is an important feature they use to construct themselves in the educational project. Consequently the discourses of new vocationalism that speak of closer links between education and industry have a certain resonance with TAFE teachers, particularly as they use their industrial experience to 'mark' themselves as different from other teachers in education.

Moreover, they see their industry knowledge and experience as conferring legitimacy on their identity as teachers. In some senses, the discourses of 'industrial expertise' does similar discursive work for TAFE teachers as 'disciplinary' knowledge does for teachers working in schools. The geography teacher in the school and the hospitality teacher in the TAFE college achieve an educational identity partly through their ëmasteryf of particular albeit different bodies of knowledge.

However this similarity is only a partial one. In the world of TAFE the ability of teachers to 'keep up-to-date with industry' is given additional importance because many TAFE students are not only learners but are, at the same time, workers. Thus they are able to make an immediate and on-going evaluation of the industrial expertise of the TAFE teacher. The utility and currency of the vocational knowledge and skills that TAFE teachers share with their students can be tested immediately by students in their working lives. It is in this sense 'practical' knowledge and is judged not in terms of its claims to generalisable 'truth' as in the case of discipline-based subjects but rather its performativity in the workplace.

Consequently, a TAFE teacher's credibility as 'industry expert' is always open to question and further compounded by her location in an educational institution rather than an industrial workplace. Although this location has always created tensions between TAFE teacher constructed as ëindustry practionerf and TAFE teacher constructed as 'educator' the discourses of new vocationalism have increased these tensions by privileging industry relevance and workplace learning over the other goals that were previously ascribed to the institutional work of TAFE.

TAFE teachers' location in an educational location also creates a second point of tension with the discourses of new vocationalism. Educational institutions are characterised by different discourses and different sense making constructions than those found in industry. TAFE, for example is an institution that also constructs itself using the discourses of liberal education. These discourses construct an educational project for TAFE teachers which goes beyond industrial training. Teachers in TAFE have taken on the discourses of liberal education in the construction of their identity. They construct themselves as educators who are as interested in the humanist goals of individual and social development as they are in vocational skills development. The discourses of new vocationalism also create a third tension in the construction of TAFE teacher identity. Today, the numbers of educational participants who look to education to provide them with job relevant skills has increased dramatically. This expectation is particularly acute in school age students (and their parents) who are well aware of the high rate of youth unemployment in the labour markets of OECD countries such as Australia. One of the consequences of these developments has been a rapid increase in the participation rate of young people in TAFE courses. Increasingly TAFE teachers are confronted with large numbers of school age students in their classes. Thus new vocationalism has changed the profile of TAFE students and consequently undermined teachers' claims to adult education as a mark of difference that constructs them as particular types of teacher.

The policy discourses of economic rationalism have also in the last decade re-constructed the institution of TAFE. It is now positioned as only one of many providers of VET. Schools, universities, industry and private providers are now all identified as being part of VET (Maglen 1996:3). Federal and State governments have legislated to change structural arrangements to support this re-definition and have used their fiscal power to promote an increased focus on VET in all publicly funded educational institutions. They have encouraged the creation of a new competitive education and training market by sanctioning the establishment of private providers in competition with TAFE. They have also promoted a competitive ethos within the institution of TAFE and have extended the public accreditation processes of education and training into industry and organisational training programs.

Discursive markers of economic rationalism such as competition, business, efficiency, doing more with less, private providers, accountability, profit, customers and the market are all common expressions now found in the managerial discourses of TAFE. The influence of economic rationalism can also be found in management discourses to do with TAFE teachers. Teachers must be more entrepreneurial, quality focused, customer oriented, efficient and flexible in the new institution of TAFE. TAFE must operate as a lean machine. Consequently teachers must focus more on quality and the marketing of their educational products and expertise. Teachers must respond to the needs of industry and identify new commercial opportunities in their colleges (Chappell 1998 :23).

In effect these policy discourses attempt to dissolve the discursive boundaries that distinguish private enterprise from public service, particularly those boundaries delineated by the different forms of conduct that govern these particular types of organisation. Furthermore, these policies propose that it is only through the establishment of an 'ethos of enterprise' that public sector instrumentalities can meet the needs and demands of contemporary society.

However, despite almost a decade of economic rationalism TAFE teachers continue to identify with the discourses of public service and perhaps more importantly with the ethos and norms of conduct that are realised by these discourses. When speaking of their work teachers use expressions that sit much more comfortably in an organisation constructed by the discourses of public service than the discourses of enterprise. Teachers, overwhelmingly speak of equity, fairness, social justice and public access rather than profit, competition, efficiency and entrepreneurial activity when describing their work (Chappell 1998:24).

Coming to a conclusion

I have suggested, in this paper, that the location of TAFE teachers within a particular educational institution is significant because this location constructs teachers in particular ways. The discourses of industry skill development, liberal education and public service, which circulate in the organisation, provide teachers with a persuasive rationale that marks them as particular types of teacher. However, the insertion of the discourses of new vocationalism and economic rationalism, in the organisation,

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has unsettled this rationale. These discourses problematise many of the points of difference that have provided TAFE teachers with a particular, albeit, ambiguous occupational identity. Teachers are faced with re-negotiating an identity out of the competing discourses that now insert different and often contradictory meaning-making practices in the institutional life of the organisation.

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Universities and regional partnerships for learning: reinterpreting the 'local' in the education of adults

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Introduction: policy and the global-local phenomenon

The new millennium coincides with the emergence of fundamental challenges to once taken for granted notions of where adult education is located. As global processes begin to show at local. national and international level, learning opportunities and the access agenda itself are being transformed. The relationship between universities and adult education is intimately bound up in these issues. Political demands that higher education respond to the learning and other knowledge related needs of local and/or regional economies focus institutional attention on geographically immediate communities. However, integrating the 'local' in a system increasingly global in scope means finding new ways of accommodating the learning needs of adults, many of them socially and economically disadvantaged.

This paper locates the emerging (re)interpretations of the place of the 'local' in universities as discourses of the global and globalisation threaten to comprehensively sweep away long held conceptions and assumptions about society, place, time and the nature of learning. Two specific aspects of transformation in the landscape of adult learning are explored. The first is the impact of tensions between the 'global' and the 'local' in reconfiguring organisational forms in higher ducation. The second is the paradox brought about by the fragmentation of regionalisation in the midst of the globalisation of economic and financial markets. The intention is to advance an account which is sensitive to the global-local phenomenon, yet aware of the rich historical seam of adult education.

Historically, the worlds of higher education and adults have intersected in the local community. Along with factors such as gender, family and initial schooling, the local roots of adult education and the pattern of opportunities encountered by would-be students in terms of institutions, travel time, costs and other incentives to learn have been shown to be important determinants of historical patterns of lifelong learning (Gorard1998). In policy terms, the pressures to increase local recruitment have led to questions about the scope for local and regionally based higher education structures (Dearing 1997 Report 9) and the quality of the student experience where collaborative arrangements, typically franchising, have provided wider access routes through the provision of higher education in further education colleges (HEFCE 1998a).

The paradox of recent policy, however, is that it has had to respond to apparently conflicting forces which simultaneously strengthen yet threaten to redefine, if not destroy, the importance of the local. Various policy developments appear to strengthen rather than diminish the incentives for universities (and other providers of adult education) to connect their mission and strategic direction more comprehensively to the learning needs of local communities. The lifelong learning agenda, together with rising government concern with the related problems of social exclusion, skills deficit and the flexibility of labour markets, has led to explicit policies designed to widen participation among hitherto underrepresented segments of the population, including adults. As the Dearing, Kennedy and Fryer Reports made clear, the achievement of specific learning targets is dependent on more involvement in, and opportunities for, learning in local communities.

Partnership: historical and contemporary configurations

The impact of these specific HE policy approaches, however, needs to be interpreted with a second set of policy influences in mind. The driver is provided by the emergence of the region (defined here as geographic entities, or sub-units, within the nation state) as a key unit of policy formation and action. One vision of the next century encompasses both the growing importance of the regions in the UK

within the supra-national span of EU funding initiatives and the concept of partnerships designed to deliver, often on a multi-agency basis, the local supply side of learning opportunities.
Partnership has become a leitmotiv of higher education. It is proclaimed by politicians and national policy makers in the DfEE and the national higher education funding councils, by universities and other institutions responsible for the delivery of higher level education and training. Across the face of the system, organisational actors invest considerable time, energy and resources in searching out new partnership opportunities and engaging in the making and remaking of innovative partnership arrangements both at home and overseas. As in other sectors, there is no single definition of partnership: 'partnership', 'alliances', 'networks' and 'collaboration' are often used to describe broadly similar processes in various contexts. In this paper the term learning partnerships is used to encompass a broad range of collaborative, sometimes multi-agency, arrangements, many of them intensely local in conception and delivery, designed to make lifelong learning a reality and to reach out to new, often excluded, segments of the population.

Comparatively little research has been done into the activities, purpose, organisation and implications of partnerships and other forms of collaboration in higher education (for one exception see Goddard (1999). However, drawing on a more extensive non-HE literature, a report on partnership for the DfEE (1998) identified five determinants in the formation of partnerships: the policy environment; public problems; a catalytic event; funding; and the potential for synergy. The report also identified three sets of factors critical for partnership success: clear objectives and commitment to an agreed strategy; a focus on the people in the partnerships and results oriented procedures. This provides a useful framework within which to locate and critique our research into evolving approaches to regional and other learning partnership arrangements.

The Leeds Joint committee: an exemplar of early regional partnership

The first case, drawn from the rich historical legacy of adult education, is a reminder of the often forgotten roots of 'partnership' activity. The exemplar chosen, the Leeds Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes and Extension Lectures, was prominent during the inter-war period. The Committee was responsible for the provision of tutorial classes for adults in an area extending throughout all three Ridings of Yorkshire. Its formation highlights the catalyst provided by the existence of a public problem - a deficit in the provision of educational opportunity for adults - and the potential for synergy derived from the joint activity by the interested parties.

The number of committee members fluctuated but averaged at around two dozen in the 1920s and half a dozen more in the thirties. Typically, there would be six members of the university, six county councillors, and eight WEA representatives, plus various others such as LEA professionals, Co-operative Society representatives, and from 1933 onwards, a representative of the tutors. WEA members on the committee consistently outnumbered those from other organisations and though the Association never had an overall majority, this superiority in numbers inevitably gave it a considerable advantage.

The delivery device, the tutorial class, was already well established by the 1920s; students were expected to commit themselves to attending classes for three years and to submit written work regularly. The classes were believed to be the most appropriate means of providing liberal adult education for working class students and the subjects studied tended to be ones which were seen to have social relevance. Classes were provided in towns and villages throughout Yorkshire, including areas where provision had traditionally been poor. In districts where many students had to work nights or varying shifts the same class was given at two different times of day so students need not miss a session.

The Joint Committee dealt with various routine matters: the programme of classes; the appointment of tutors; tutors' salaries; the annual reports and accounts and various other financial matters, including discussions on the amount received from LEAs, and room hire charges. The Committee received some funding under the 1924 Education Regulations; the university, local education authorities and other bodies such as the Carnegie trust made some financial contribution.

A successful partnership?

The classes provided by the Joint Committee are generally considered to be a successful model of partnership activity. The Committee provided courses which extended into communities traditionally excluded from education such as mining villages and rural areas and can be regarded as an early regional partnership for the education of adults. The number of former students who entered public service, whether as councillors, MPs or union leaders is one indication of success. Several tutorial class students went on to study full time in higher education, some returning to the area as tutors themselves. The example of the work carried out in the inter-war years provided the basis for much of the activity of the post-war extra-mural department at Leeds.

Several factors contributed to the Joint Committee's success as an early educational partnership. The people in the partnership were certainly critical. For most of the inter-war years, George Thompson, WEA Yorkshire (North) District Secretary was, beyond doubt, the driving force behind the Joint Committee organisation. He claimed that all the Joint Committee work was done in his office; this was no empty boast. It was acknowledged within the Board of Education that the Leeds University tutorial and extension classes were run by the WEA and that neither the staff nor the university registrar had much to do with the classes (PRO ED80/16). With the WEA as the core partner, leader and manager of the Joint Committee, the objectives and strategy of the partnership remained clear and unambiguous throughout the period.

However, the success of the partnership was also influenced by other factors: the funding through the 'Responsible Body' system; the willingness (although variable) of the local authorities to make a financial contribution; the support of the Vice-Chancellor Michael Sadler in the early days, and through him the university; the commitment of Thompson's colleagues in the WEA to give their time voluntarily to 'the movement'. Credit too should be given to the commitment of many tutors, which went beyond their basic working hours. Harder to define is the 'temper of the time' which encouraged the growth of adult education.

Contemporary configurations of partnership

Contemporary configurations of partnership involve more than a simple reworking of the historical model represented by the Leeds Joint Committee. This is not to deny the contribution of voluntarism, self-improvement and radicalism still forcefully represented by organisations like the WEA, the trade unions and other bodies involved in advancing the cause of lifelong learning. However, the nature and scale of the learning challenges of globalisation and regionalisation have transformed the policy environment and the expectations of partnership. Two dimensions of this transformation can be identified.

Mass higher education and FHE collaboration

The first is the changing relationships between state and society, work and welfare, exemplified in the emergence of semi-marketised mass systems of post-16 education and training. Widening participation, with its focus on previously excluded or under-represented groups, is now embedded in the discourses of the policy makers, the funding bodies and educational institutions. Partnership has become the organisational device for translating the discourse of policy into the reality of practice.

An important exemplar of partnership in the spaces between the traditional further and higher learning 'markets' is the collaborative relationship designed to deliver higher education in further education. Encouraged by the funding regime of the period, these relationships, often based on sub-contractual (typically franchise) arrangements between FE colleges (FECs) and HE institutions (HEIs) grew quickly in the 1990s - by 1995 around 13 per cent of HE students, many of them adults and those without traditional (A-level) qualifications, were studying in FECs. Such partnership schemes have played an important role in improving local access, particularly for marginal (both geographically and socially) populations, in providing diversity and new progression routes, particularly in vocational provision, and in smoothing the transition from non-learning to learning among those, particularly adult returners, whose previous experiences of education had been characterised by failure and disillusionment.

Many of these partnerships developed extensively into far broader relationships between a variety of post-16 educational providers. Several partnerships have also developed into more ambitious regional or sub-regional schemes designed to bring a greater measure of co-ordination and coherence to provision and to consolidate opportunities in districts, both urban and rural, where participation in post-16 education had been traditionally low (HEFCE 1998a). Although the Dearing Report raised concerns about the quality and regulation of franchised provision, the HEFCE has recently endorsed the continuation of such arrangements (though with greater regulation), noting that they have become embedded in wider sets of FHE relationships beyond the sub-contractual (HEFCE 1998b). It has also established a separate special funding initiative to promote longer term commitment to widening participation, develop synergy with other funding sources and partnerships and to meet regional needs (HEFCE 1999).

The regional dimension

The second dimension in contemporary partnership is the emergence of the region as a new, though as yet unclear, space for the organisation and delivery of learning. It is not an uncontested space, with many of the institutional players in FHE being joined by other state and voluntary organisations. This new regional dimension is heavily driven by the imperatives of operating within the structures of decision making and funding (structural and other funds) of the EU. In addition, national UK policy agendas of devolution, most obviously to Scotland and Wales, and regionalisation, in the case of England, are beginning to influence the shape of local learning. The establishment (in England) of Regional Chambers and Regional Development Agencies (RDAs), designed to address the apparent democratic and economic deficits of rule from Westminster, adds a further element of turbulence since there is still confusion about their role in skills and training.

Although the RDAs do not (yet) have control over planning or funding of universities, colleges or TECs, they are expected to have a significant influence on the development of the regional skills agenda and on educational provision. Skills boards, established by each of the RDAs, are expected to produce a regional skills strategy, designed to underpin regional economic development, with links to the government's national skills strategy and other policy developments such as the University for Industry (UfI) and National Learning Targets. Given the centrality of learning in the regional agenda, there has been much lobbying and manoeuvring for positions of influence. Despite assurances about representation of FE and HE, full-time representatives of HE are absent on two of the eight boards and full-time FE representatives are absent from six of the new RDA boards (THES 1.1.99). The regional agenda, if it is to mean anything at all, will require more not less focus on the specific needs of different types of local communities and the learning requirements of the people in them.

A key challenge presented by the regional agenda is how to co-ordinate these learning needs. Government and education and training organisations - Government Office, the HE and FE Funding Councils, college and university organisations, careers services - are already 'tracking' the RDAs and beginning to enhance their organisational capacity at regional level. Research into the development of the regional organisation of universities suggests this is a far from straightforward step, however. For example, the Yorkshire and Humberside Universities Association (YHUA), generally considered by government and the HE sector to be one of the most advanced regional organisations, has been successful in developing and securing funding for regional collaborative projects in research, technology transfer, and information technology and management. Altogether less developed are systematic regional approaches to lifelong learning. While institutionally driven partnerships in this and other sub-regions continue to deliver important learning opportunities, diversity of missions and historical commitments to particular local, national (and international) constituencies make a common regional approach difficult to achieve.

Some institutions have already embedded their partnership activities in the structure and culture of the organisation. However, research evidence suggests that others, particularly many of the pre-1992 universities, continue to see learning partnerships as a useful device for 'managing' non-traditional learning at the academic margins. The HEFCE research report on franchise-type relationships acknowledged that some partnerships could operate with little strategic input from institutional leaders. Nevertheless, it was found that where senior management was directly involved in defining the strategic objectives and clarifying the scope and nature of collaborative partnerships, the schemes had greater direction and a stronger framework (HEFCE 1998b: para 72). The same is likely to be the case in the context of wider regionally based collaborative approaches to learning provision. However, neither the funding regime nor the policy environment is designed to encourage other than limited initiatives in this direction and the incentive for senior managers to really push in this direction is, at best, uncertain. Moreover, confusion remains over the role of the RDAs and, significantly, the government's 'radical' review of post-16 education and training (announced as this paper was being prepared) has drawn criticism for failing to include universities and higher education colleges. The impact of the regional agenda on the future shape and role of universities in adult learning is potentially powerful. To date it has failed to produce any serious challenge to successful institutionally driven learning partnerships.

Conclusions

Discourses of the global and globalisation which ignore longer term trajectories in the shape and place of adult learning can provide only a partial account of the forces shaping the future of adult education. The work of the Leeds Joint Committee before the second world war stands as an important early example of successful learning partnership. The Committee was an organisational and cultural response to the learning challenge of the era dedicated to the local provision, regionally organised, of liberal adult education. In retrospect the partnership possessed all the virtues critical for success: clarity of objectives and strategy, committed participants and a powerful impact on students. The partnership had clear potential for synergy in meeting the challenge of adult learning and was able to benefit from a policy environment conducive to such action.

In the post-war period the nature and context of the learning challenge has changed, influenced in more recent years by the radical processes of globalisation and regionalisation. Alongside, and deeply implicated, are the other organisational and cultural transformations associated with the emergence of mass, increasingly marketised, post-compulsory education systems and the political agendas of lifelong learning and social inclusion. The impact of globalisation processes needs to be read in conjunction with deeper analysis of the thrust of recent policy interventions in UK education. These are grand and, in their connections or synergy (tension might be a better word) imperfectly understood themes with major implications for the purposes and spaces occupied by adult learning.

Partnership can be discerned as a common unifying theme, a way of linking the purpose and place of adult learning, a device for securing the participation of different interested parties, from the state at one end of the continuum, through the universities, colleges and voluntary organisations, to the smallest community action group at the other. While the range and scale of the learning challenge has been transformed by the global and the promise of new information technologies, what strikes is the enduring faith in partnership as a means of organising and delivering learning to the people and places who need it. In contemporary configurations of partnership the emergence of FHE partnerships stands as one example deriving strength from agreed objectives (access and wider participation, meeting local needs), the commitment of participants and the evidence of results. Such partnerships flourished, perhaps in an unanticipated way, because of the policy and funding environment, local synergy and an evident problem of educational disadvantage.

However, our research suggests that at least some of the faith in partnership to provide future solutions to learning challenges might prove to be misplaced. Partnership is not a guarantee of success if certain critical predisposing conditions are absent. FHE franchise-type relationships, for example, have proved less successful and open to potentially damaging criticism, where the motives of partners were overtly finance or numbers driven. The regional outflow of globalisation processes provides possibly the sternest challenge yet to the potential and capacity of partnership. Arguably adult learning stands to benefit from the development of genuinely regionally based collaborative structures. So far the evidence is that the regional challenge may prove too unwieldy for institutions, particularly some of the elite inclined universities, steeped in traditions of voluntarism where adult learning is located at the margins of mainstream activity. If this assessment is correct, then policy makers and institutional leaders may need to re-examine the history of adult education's approaches to partnership and local action if they are to devise sensible and coherent approaches to the regional agenda capable of securing a more inclusive and collaborative learning future.

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Multiple identities of an adult educator: a learning journal story

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Paper presented at SCUTREA, 29th Annual Conference, 5-7 July 1999, University of Warwick

I am starting this paper with some autobiographical notes in order to indicate my pre-understandings of the process of keeping a learning journal.

Summer 1998 marked twenty years since I had received a document admitting me to the degree of Master (sic) of Arts in the University of Leeds. Autumn of the same year marked my twenty years as an adult educator with the disciplinary background of psychology. At the outset, I had determined to construct a portfolio career for myself in the hope of allowing my multiple selves to flourish.

A twentieth anniversary seemed a good occasion to start a process of evaluation of my practice and of my original portfolio-making decision. I embarked on this by joining one of the many courses of postgraduate study in professional education, having as its compulsory core a module incorporating the term 'reflective practice' in its title.

According to Usher, Bryant and Johnston (1997):

> Successful reflective practice entails engaging in a continual rescripting of one's own practice, not in merely having it rescripted and played back by others. In 'practical' terms, keeping a journal (and sharing its content with others) is the key to this.

The framework in which the learning journal as key is situated is the postmodern. 'The possibility of a multiplicity of perspectives is perhaps what most characterises a postmodern perspective' (Usher and Edwards 1994).

A postmodern approach holds a personal appeal for me in this recognition of diversity and celebration of difference. I am Jewish. If my grandparents had not escaped from their *shtetl* or East European township, I would not be here. Their neighbours who stayed lived until Auschwitz claimed them. The Holocaust marks the end of the Enlightenment project of rational progress; 'the more you know the better you become'. I am female. The issues of voice and silence that many women feel in their personal, domestic and professional environments (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, Tarule 1986) resonate for me too. A learning journal offers a voice and the chance to value its power. As a bearer of a portfolio career, I inevitably attract the linguistic label 'part-timer'. Such an identity, constructed by others within the dominant discourse of an hierarchically-ordered university, feels oppressive to me. I would have space to reflect on this.

I moved towards the learning journal process enthused by the notion of exploring my 'informal theories' (Argyris and Schon, 1974) which had developed through my reading and practice over the years.

I halted when the course handbook guidelines to reflecting upon experience within a learning journal concluded with a statement on assessment. This involves the submission of the learning journal to an examining board. Journal entries need to 'fulfil the learning outcomes specified and the matrix of key skills' (by permission).

This was my 'disorienting dilemma', (Mezirow 1978), that which transformed my perspective on the practice, now set in binary opposition to theory, of keeping a learning journal. The 'quality

assurance' demands of assessment had delegitimated my voice before I had begun to speak. My postmodern perspective had been dislocated. My anticipated journal had turned into a modernist instrumental enterprise.
To tell the story of my response at this stage I need to employ all of the three narrative tropes or ways of telling, of postmodernism; the ironic, the tragic and the ludic (Burbules, unpublished paper, quoted in Usher, Bryant and Johnston 1997). The ironic is characterised as both giving and taking back at the same moment. Ironically, the opportunity to explore in a learning journal was given to me whilst the prospect of assessment immediately removed that chance. The second narrative trope, the tragic, involves the questionings of our pre-understandings and is potentially disabling. My pre-understandings of the freedom and privacy inherent in reflection were shifted uncomfortably. The third trope, the ludic or game-playing, was apparent when I asked the question in ludic mode, 'Will I play the game?' Will I give the assessor of my journal what the course requirements demand or will I use that space to reflect on my own needs? I resented having to keep this version of a journal. A revisit to Boud, Cohen and Walker's 'Barriers to Reflection on Experience' (Boud, Cohen and Walker 1993), to compare my barriers with their brainstormed list, convinced me that my barriers, unlike their internal barriers, were located in structural matters, what Foucault (1984) refers to as 'knowledge-power regimes'. In this case those regimes were located in the relationship of the power of the assessor to define learner knowledge within a learning journal. Wilson (1999) argues that 'adult educators create power to create identities of dependency'. The reflective learner writing an assessed journal becomes dependent on the assessor for a pass/fail credit allocation and perhaps even for career possibilities. The asymmetrical power relations allow the examiner to privilege her criteria, values and beliefs, stated or unstated, above those of the learner. Modernist valorising of the elitist knowledge of the university inherent in the assessment process overlays the postmodern value placed on different ways of knowing.

Questions arose for me. How widespread is the practice of assessing learning journals? Can reflection be assessed? How do you define reflection? Brookfield (1994) states, 'The terms reflection or reflective practice are now so overused that they are in danger of becoming buzz words denuded of any real meaning' and that 'the reflective practice idea has become a catch-all term embracing ideologies and orientations that are often contradictory.'

Boud and Walker (1993) suggest that 'Reflection is the link whereby we abstract analyse and process experience to provide a basis for knowledge claims'. Experience, even if taken as unproblematic, taken as if it has boundaries and is accessible at will, to reflect upon, should be unassailable as it belongs to its owner alone.

To subject a learning journal to examination scrutiny would seem to invalidate the experience of learners. Brookfield (1995) asserts of learners that 'judging the quality of their experience and emotions by some standard measure is ridiculous'. He is clear that 'the knowledge contained in learning journals is personal, non-verifiable and non-assessable' (Brookfield 1995).

Nevertheless attempts are made to assess this non-assessable learning journal knowledge. Morrison (1996), working at the University of Durham and assessing Masters' degrees, represents the approach in which 'the learning journal itself is not assessed although the assignment for which it provides data is'.

Among those who have tried to formalise journal marking schemes (Sparks-Langer, Summons, Pasch 1990), mirroring the hierarchical thinking of Gagne King and Kitchener (1994) using semi-structured interviews; Sumsion and Fleet (1996), who conclude it is impractical to assess reflection), the most detailed assessment tool is that described by Kember, Jones, Loke, McKay, Sinclair, Harrison, Webb, Wong, Wong, Yeung (1999). They developed and tested a seven-point coding scheme which, they assert, provides 'means of identifying reflective thought' and of 'determining the level of reflective thinking from students' written journals'. They recommend their method 'for both assessing students and evaluating courses in programs (sic) which aim to develop reflective thinking'.

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Kember, Jones, Loke, McKay, Sinclair, Harrison, Webb, Wong, Wong and Yeung chose the work of Mezirow (1991) on which to base their coding scheme stating, 'The fact that Mezirow has written so extensively and in such detail makes his work well-suited to the formation of a coding scheme'.

Political considerations in Mezirow's work are discounted as 'not useful in defining our categories'. They report 'acceptable levels of reliability among four assessors' in a scheme where content reflection, (the **what**) and process reflection (the **how**) are valued as equivalent, with premise reflection (the **why**) being graded at a higher level. A blip in testing their scheme has been covered by their statement that 'Disagreements over coding resulted from differing interpretations of the significance of what students had written rather than from a lack of precision in the guidelines for coding categories'.

This privileging of an instrumental measure over the reality of the learner is reductionist and based on a positivistic notion of an ultimate truth.

Any approach which valorises the examiner's knowledge over that of the learner contradicts the notion of a voice to reflect on experience, negating issues of multiple perspectives and multiple truths.

Although Kember, Jones, Loke, McKay, Sinclair, Harrison, Webb, Wong, Wong and Yeung chose Mezirow's model for instrumental, rather than theoretical, 'fit', this version of 'Making Meaning' (Mezirow 1991) 'how we understand experience' rests on 'cognitive interpretation', privileging throughout the need for rationality. This echoes the Western intellectual tradition of the Enlightenment project of progress through reason.

Cheryl Hunt draws our attention to the realities involved in 'the inclusion of reflective practice as an assessed element of Masters programmes in the SCUTREA proceedings of 1996. As a consequence of initial pilot of an RP distance learning module issues arose which included those at two extremes which they called 'therapy' and 'institutional challenge'. As a result, Cheryl Hunt states that she and her colleagues

> have had to recognise...that as tutors on an academic programme, although we must have concern for the affective and behavioural domains, our focus must be to support students' development in the cognitive domain. (Hunt 1996)

Modernist academic demands thus intruded into postmodern endeavour as Hunt is aware. 'Our developing model of RP as facilitated through an academic programme thus undoubtedly remains within the Enlightenment tradition.'

I have two concerns at the identification of discrete domains, the cognitive and the emotional, within the individual person. Although analytically separable, cognitive and affective domains, terms rooted in psychological disciplinary discourse, cannot be separated in 'real world' situations. Dewey, usually acknowledged as having introduced the notion of reflection, states the process starts with a 'felt doubt' (1933). Here he links affect and cognition in the basic mode for reflection, with neither mode privileged over the other. Boud and Walker (1993) further indicate that emotions are a component of experience and that 'Denial of feelings is denial of learning.'

The separation of domains seems to echo the Cartesian dualism of the Western intellectual tradition, valorising the cognitive over the affective. I would argue that events which trigger the critical incident recorded for reflection in learning journals may well have an emotional component. We may feel exhilarated if our practices seem to us to be going well, anxious or 'down' if they are not, and this 'feeling' alerts us that the meaning of the event is for us 'critical'.

Elana Michaelson (1996) reminds us that 'feminist epistemology has devoted much attention to embodied and emotionally rooted knowledge', going on to suggest that knowledge from the body and emotions are 'less distorted than those available to the cognitive mind'. In drawing our attention to the role of emotions in the construction of knowledge, she here privileges emotion over reason. Although this has echoes of the Western dualism she rejects elsewhere in her article, it does reassert the role of emotions in the construction of meaning.

Usher, Bryant and Johnston (1997) argue that the postmodern moment 'provides the conceptual resources for thinking anew the effects of education at both personal and structural levels' and that 'the message within postmodernism is to problematize systems of thought and organisation'. This could equally apply, it seems, to the experience of reflective practice as explored in a learning journal. Usher, Bryant and Johnston conclude that 'experiential learning can be said to sit comfortably within the postmodern moment'.

The process of keeping a learning journal is thus clearly situated 'within the postmodern moment'. The assessment process, however, transforms the experience into a modernist one of gaining university credits or grades. In practical terms, subjecting a journal to assessment might inhibit the writer's tone, hinder creativity, create censorship, transform the tone of the journal from experiential to instrumental, or influence the personal tutor/learner relationship, where it happens that the tutor is also internal examiner.

If the assessment covers aspects of professional development, the writer might be tempted to locate her experience within a hierarchical developmental sequence of incremental steps, rather than reflect the fragmentation of postmodernism appropriate to the learning journal process. She may also attempt closure, attempt to provide 'solutions'. The process of learning to reflect is a formative rather than a summative one. The learner can only start at the position she inhabits. Much depends on the language available to the learner. Underlying assumptions and informal theories are unpacked using language with which to name, frame and reframe these.

Boud and Walker (1998) suggest a need for practitioners to be aware of the often taken-for-granted features of context, and include in this 'the language we use to name the world (we cannot hold concepts or draw meaning from experiences for which we do not have language)'. Bruner (1973), in noting class-related difference in language use for analysis among children, suspects these differences may be even greater in adults. Should this be so, an inclusive approach to all 'classes' of learner, not just the 'chattering' ones, would indicate a need to avoid an assessment procedure which might perpetuate the disadvantages of class positionality.

Riegel (1976) suggests that the thinking of adults can be characterised by what he calls 'dialectical operations'. Within this framework of thought, specific to adults, contradictory conditions are seen as constructive and leading to new developments. These contradictions nudged me. I became aware of feeling a dissonance, a discomfort, in perceiving that my postmodern learning journal would be assessed within the modernist paradigm.

In dialogue mode I have questions to pose. Is the discourse on reflection reflexive, that is, does it reflect back on itself? Are there unexamined assumptions about reflection being intrinsically 'good'. In becoming reflective will we become better learners and practitioners? My positivist background asserted itself. I searched for evidence and found none. Stefani remarks that there is little to indicate "whether or not programmes which seek to promote reflection are any more successful than programmes which do not".

Guy Claxton (1998) challenges the view that reflection is an aid to knowledge construction. In his book 'Hare Brain, Tortoise Mind. Why intelligence increases when you think less', he argues that thinking gets in the way of learning. 'The plasticity of the enquiring brain-mind needs no effort, no conscious intention to bring its unconscious know-how to the surface'. It is this intentionality that inhibits learning, for 'we know more than we think'. If thinking hinders learning, should we reflect at all?

I would have liked to have explored my multiple realities within an unassessed learning journal. I would have appreciated an opportunity to share my reflections on reflection in a tutor facilitated group setting. If limitations in contact time precluded group meetings, maybe a dialogue journal with tutor, based on synoptic statements from selected learning journal sections, might have allowed perspective sharing.

I have now told my learning journal story. I have told how the postmodern practice of keeping a learning journal as key to reflective practice transmutes into a modernist enterprise when the journal becomes subject to assessment.

The postmodern paradox inherent in this paper is that only by engaging in critical reflection within a journal did the learning experience of the limitations of this method occur.

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SCUTREA-99: Session E 5: Tuesday 6th July 14.00 - 15.30 Chair: Henning Salling Olesen

Title

Locating learning in communities: problems and possibilities for radical adult education in Scotland

Author

Crowther, Jim

Abstract

The context for radical adult education in Scotland is at an important conjuncture, The process of democratic renewal is having an impact on the political institutions of the state and organisation of civic politics both nationally and in communities. The expansion of civic politics, new policy developments and an intellectual rethinking of 'community' are creating new opportunities - as well as new problems - for developing a critical adult education. Strategies of resistance are identified from examples by practitioners and the relationship between adult education and the legislature are discussed.

Notes

Papers presented at the 29th Annual SCUTREA Conference July 5 - July 7 1999. University of Warwick

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Space, place and subversion in university adult and continuing education

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Paper presented at SCUTREA, 29th Annual Conference, 5-7 July 1999, University of Warwick

Ezra Pound said, 'Literature does not exist in a vacuum' (Pound 1934). The same is true of university adult and continuing education. Its form and function will be affected by social changes, the ways in which the functions of society are perceived and representations of society are formed. The relationship between university adult and continuing education and other relevant policy has been well defined in Wales (see Francis and Humphreys 1999 Instance and Rees 1995). I am going to concentrate on theoretical work which seeks to foreground the role of space within global and local social systems. Located within the discourse of globalisation and in the context of developments in information and communication technology, examples of increasing spatialisation include the movement of international capital, the increased development of abstract systems with no visible location (insurance companies, banking etc), the international supermarket chain as against the corner shop, and geographically dislocated monitoring and surveillance systems.

In the first part I am going to present some ideas of social space from the work of Michel Foucault, Michel de Certeau, Frederic Jameson and Henri Lefevre. I am then going to put their ideas alongside most recent developments in university adult and continuing education. The process is not one of suggesting absolute parallels, rather I will be using one set of ideas to illuminate the other. My method is influenced by Walter Benjamin who stated 'History is the subject of a structure whose site is not homogeneous, empty time, but time filled with the now'. (Benjamin 1970: 264)

This echoes Lefebvre's view of space as a social product. He argues that rather than space being *a priori*, a vacuum waiting to be filled, it is produced through social action.

> (Social) space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: rather it subsumes things produced and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity - their (relative) order and/or (relative) disorder (Lefebvre 1991: 73).

I am not, therefore, mustering 'a mass of data to fill homogeneous empty time' but using 'a constructive principle (in which) thinking involves not only the flow of thoughts but their arrest as well. Where thinking suddenly stops in a configuration pregnant with tension...' (Benjamin 1970 p 265). From the 'tension' of coexistence and simultaneity will arise, I hope, ideas about the way in which developments in university adult and continuing education are connected to the spatialisation of other social forms.

Anthony Giddens in *Consequences of Modernity* makes an important distinction between 'space' and 'place'.

> Place is best conceptualised by means of the idea of locale, which refers to the physical settings of social activity as situated geographically. In pre-modern societies space and place largely coincide, since the spatial dimensions of social life are, for most of the population, ... dominated by 'presence' - by localised activities. The advent of modernity increasingly tears space away from place by fostering relationships between absent 'others', locationally distant from any given situation of face to face interaction. (Giddens 1991: 18).

These ideas are reinforced and developed by Lefebvre and Jameson; space is related to surface and synchronicity (it is a historical), while place is related to time (tradition) and implies a teleological relationship between the past and the present. Giddens develops this relationship between space and place through an analysis of tradition and its role in premodern society (local), and the role of the expert in (post)modern society (spatial). He seeks to reconcile the two concepts through the notion of re-embedding traditions within the context of a modern society whose 'reflexivity ... consists in the fact that social practices are constantly examined and reformed in the light of information about those very practices, thus constitutively altering their character' (Giddens 1991: 38). The ideas of the past reappear within the context of the present, yet simple appeals to tradition (but we have always done it that way) are no longer adequate, such appeals must be reinforced by a mass of information about current practices. In the second part of this paper I want to claim that the mainstreaming of university adult and continuing education, represents a shift from the foregrounding of place to that of space.

In *Discipline and Punish* Michel Foucault distinguishes between sovereign and disciplinary power in the change from a pre-modern to a modern society. Clearly related to the difference between space and place, Foucault describes sovereign (pre-modern) power as descending from the heights to the depths and outwards from the centre to the margins. Within this system the degree to which the individual is recognised is 'ascending', the higher up the chain of command the 'more one possesses power or privilege, the more one is marked as an individual, by rituals written accounts or visual reproductions' (Foucault 1991: 192). Within a disciplinary (modern) regime however:

> individualisation is 'descending': as power becomes more anonymous and more functional, those on whom it is exercised tend to be more strongly individualised; it is exercised by surveillance rather than ceremonies, by observation rather than commemorative accounts, by comparative measures that have the 'norm' as reference rather than genealogies giving ancestors as points of reference; by gaps rather than deeds. (Foucault 1991: 193)

In any study of the development of the educational system, and university adult and continuing education in particular, this distinction is fascinating. It is made so by the intense modernity exhibited by recent structures of mainstreamed continuing education, fuelled by developments in communication and information technology, yet which exist within traditional universities wedded to ceremony and ritual.

Frederic Jameson's concerns are primarily aesthetic rather than social and concerned with the problem of representation. In *Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* he develops the notion of cognitive mapping which 'require(s) the co-ordination of existential data ... with an unlived abstract conception of the geographic totality' (Jameson 1991: 52). His concern is that within a society in which 'the newer allegory is horizontal rather than vertical' (Jameson 1991: 168) individuals or social groups are no longer able to produce adequate representations of themselves. For every map which is produced there is an infinite number of other maps 'a coexistence not even of multiple and plural worlds so much as of unrelated fuzzy sets and semi-autonomous subsystems whose overlap is perceptually maintained like hallucinogenic depth planes' (Jameson 1991: 372). Jameson takes the concept of the global postmodern subject, fragmented and decentred as they are normally represented, and provides, through cognitive mapping, a method of representation. If adult and continuing education, along with other social systems and institutions, has become more fragmented and relational, as I shall later argue, then this idea of cognitive mapping might provide the means by which the individual student can position themselves within the system and reconcile that position with the other 'maps' of home life and work, let alone those of gender, race and nationality, within which they must somehow coexist.

I want to end this brief section with reference to two of the ideas of Michel de Certeau in *The Practice of Everyday Life*. The first is the study of the marginal, that which sits outside those social activities reducible to statistical data. He makes a detailed case for the theoretical consideration of that which does not fit into the proper place of academic study. He uses the notion of the 'consumer' to illustrate this and rather than choosing to study patterns of consumption he creates the term 'users' in order to illustrate his interest in the way in which consumed objects are ultimately used, whatever the assumed intention. He sees users as 'poets of their own acts, silent discoverers of their own paths in the jungle of functionalist rationality ... (following) indirect trajectories obeying their own logic'. (de Certeau 1984 p 128)

The second (related) idea is the distinction he makes between tactics and strategies in seeking to locate sources of social power and control. He makes the distinction as follows:

> I call a 'strategy' the calculus of force relationships which becomes possible when a subject of will and power (a proprietor, an enterprise, a city, a scientific institution [a university]) can be isolated from an environment. A strategy assumes a place that can be circumscribed as proper (propre) and thus serves as the basis for generating relationships distinct from it ... Political, economic and scientific rationality has been constructed on this strategic model.
>
> I call a 'tactic', on the other hand, a calculus which cannot count on a 'proper', (a spatial or institutional localisation), nor thus on a borderline distinguishing the other as a visible totality. The place of a tactic belongs to the other. A tactic insinuates itself into the other's place fragmentarily, without taking over its entirety. (de Certeau 1984: xix)

De Certeau claims that, through tactical manoeuvres, users can subvert dominant discourses and intended meanings and functions. This is a useful distinction for those engaged in university adult and continuing education. In terms of the institution, the 'other' is both the adult educator and the student. Tactical manoeuvres have long been the stock in trade of both. In the shift from extra mural to continuing education and lifelong learning, adult educationalists are being asked to change from a tactical (subversive) mode of operation to a strategic one which takes forward both the agenda of the institution and a national agenda. Yet a twist to the tale (tail) is that a consequence of the shift in power operations in adult education from the tactical to the strategic has meant that in many cases institutions have relocated power from designated centres of adult and continuing education into its administrative heart.

Recent developments in university adult and continuing education can be mapped against the above concepts. In order to illustrate this I will be using broad terms and making sweeping generalisations. I want to refer principally to the process generally called 'mainstreaming', a term I first came across in official documentation around 1992, and which describes the process whereby all courses offered by a university, including part time and off campus, become part of its qualifications structure, its mainstream activity. The Higher Education Funding Council, which drove the process of change via its funding mechanisms reinforced through quality assurance, and justified it as part of the process of widening participation in higher education. At its most extreme this involved extra mural or similar departments in 'accrediting' their short course programme and wrapping them up in higher education qualifications (Certificates, Diplomas, Degrees). Such changes were made technically possible by the more or less general acceptance amongst higher education of modularised courses within a system of credit accumulation and transfer, both of which were developed within the general discourse of equality of opportunity and subsequent widening of participation through increased flexibility. Through this process 'extra-mural' courses, the provision of general interest and mainly non-accredited courses to the general public, became part-time higher education, part of the overall curriculum offer of the institution.

One tradition of extra-mural provision was the local class system. Classes were often named after the geographical area in which they were located. They were self-sufficient, operated via a kind of democracy and their relationship with the local extra mural department would be that they would 'invite' a lecturer on a particular topic. They identified with a place and claimed to draw on the traditions of that place. The source of authority was local, any comparison with the provision offered by the home institution was often coincidental rather than structural or systematic. The mainstreaming of such provision through a process of accreditation altered the relationships between the class and the institution. The course now becomes part of the university provision, the class members part-time students. The overall extra-mural programme, rather than being described as a number of geographical classes is described as a number of qualification routes. Control of the curriculum moves from the class to the university, which validates it against the 'norm'. In order to monitor the progress of class members, now turned part-time students, a range of administrative systems come into play. The site of the learning might still be in the community but it is linked to the centre by the umbilical cord of administration and quality assurance. Through a process of moderation or external examination student progress is measured against the norm. To combine Foucault and Giddens sovereign power and tradition in the place of learning is replaced by disciplinary power and abstract systems which seek to monitor the activity of a spatialised provision. In Lefebvre's terms it is the colonisation of the concrete space of everyday life, a space which is framed by the economy and the state yet which also contains intensely local experiences and memories, by abstract space, the space of expert (abstract) systems of commodification and bureaucratisation. Yet, contradictorily, it is precisely through the administrative processes of collecting information on students and classes, monitoring the progress of students and tutors and the general paraphernalia of quality assurance that an institution can operate reflexively, can use the flow of information to alter the nature of its provision.

This, educationally, relatively straightforward process, throws up another whole mass of contradictions. Through taking part in qualification bearing courses students are given standing within the educational system. They are able to carve out their own space, to create their own pathways; they become consumers and are empowered as such. Yet in order to do this they must hand over authority to abstract experts, the expertise of the higher education system. On the other hand if students do not become part of the mainstream system, if they are retained within their communities taking courses designed for them alone, then it could be claimed that they are being retained within their marginalisation, a kind of ghettoisation, from which the university remains only a distant possibility and for which it takes little responsibility.

Traditional higher education is primarily full time and involves students taking linear courses delivered face to face in a particular location (normally redolent with tradition, ivy hanging off the walls, oak panelled lecture room, plaques and portraits watching over you). The mainstreaming of continuing education has opened up the possibility for the development of a (normally) modularised and credit based system in which credits can be accumulated towards a qualification over a period of time to (as the rhetoric goes) suit the students, at a range of locations and through different modes of study. Such a change can be easily located within a general trend of commodification of all social services and empowerment of the individual consumer, and within higher education has been established for some time through the work of the Open University and others. The service becomes more synchronic, varieties of modules at different levels are offered, there are a range of choices not only of subjects but also modes of study and entry and exit points. Modules might well be offered by a number of different providers. Whereby within traditional linear courses the structure and the options could often be outlined on the back of an envelope the more flexible course becomes difficult to represent, increasingly abstract. Coherence arises not from the development of highly determined course structures but from the individual student and their relationship to the different elements of their programme. While the problem is only one facet of Jameson's fragmented subject seeking to co-ordinate themselves within global abstract systems, there are parallels.

The primary form of representation of space is the map, a synchronic surface. And indeed where regional developments (the University of Derby, the Community University of North Wales and others) are seeking to develop systems of more flexible higher education linking diverse provision, then a mapping process is often the starting point. There will be tensions. As Derek Gregory states in *Geographical Imaginations*, mapping is 'necessarily situated, embodied, partial: like all other practices of representation' (Gregory 1994: 7). Different providers will want to highlight different areas of the map - does it start at postgraduate and work down or basic skills and work up, does the first degree sit in the centre or on the margin. Students will always push at the borders of the map and subvert the official routes it signifies, asking awkward questions about credit transfer and entry qualifications. As users of the system they will adopt a variety of tactics. They will also get lost, not necessarily a negative process but one with potential creativity according to Benjamin who says 'But to lose one's way in a city ... requires practice ... it fulfilled the dreams whose first traces were the labyrinths on the blotters of my exercise book' and 'To understand something is to know how to chart it. And to know how to get lost' (Benjamin 1985). De Certeau, in describing the users of urban space, refers to 'walkers ... whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban text ... make use of spaces that cannot be seen' (de Certeau 1984).

While the map might, therefore, indicate a service which is 'functionalist and rational', the users of the system will adopt a variety of ways of progressing through it. The learning process of the individual is imperfectly circumscribed by the qualification at the end (and a qualification is never more than a description of the quantity and level of learning which is negotiable either within the job market or within a hierarchy of status). The learning process is creative and constructive, it changes the ways in which individuals perceive themselves and the world around them, a process in which things explain each other through their relationships. The self-reflexivity of the learning process, the way in which they will use the ongoing accumulation of knowledge and development of understanding to inform future decisions within their own educational process, will mean that students will be unable to map out the totality of their journey from the starting point but will take short cuts, fast tracks and meander down minor roads and arrive at destinations it would be impossible to predetermine. The administrative totality of the educational service as represented by the map can never be more than a guide which describes one level of activity and through which each student positions themselves and traces their progress.

The spatialisation of educational provision is deeply individualising. In Foucault's terms individualisation is descending, it spreads out to the furthest margins. It assumes an empowerment of the student in their ability to map out their own routes through the system. Within adult and continuing education a counter tactic has been the development of 'community education', a service which seeks to draw on the interests, needs and desires of specific groups within communities, to locate the learning within the community under their own authority and (often) to develop a curriculum in conjunction with that group. Such provision is often targeted at those communities or groups within them who are least likely, or for practical reasons, unable to attend other types of learning. This process seeks to counter a spatialised and normalised provision, operating outside processes of monitoring and citing as its authority the site of learning and the people within it rather than the institution. Within the discourse the needs and desires of local communities are paramount. Such provision can, with some tactical manoeuvring, fit onto the functional and rationalist map yet this may often distort its principle aim of the development of a specific locale.

The current phrasing of 'social inclusion' and its counterpart 'social exclusion' suggests there is a social norm which certain communities or groups are not part of and the discourse of community education expresses this both implicitly and explicitly. Yet it is precisely from these intensely local developments, outside the 'proper' place and distanced from the normalising tendencies of large institutions that the 'socially excluded' often become involved in learning. In Lefebvre's terms it provides a concrete space in which it is possible 'to conceive everyday life in such a way as to retrieve it from its modern state of colonisation by the commodity form' (Gregory 1994: 402).

Spatialisation contains within it the potential to disturb and excite. People lose not only their ethical bearings but also their physical ones as historical markers disappear. If universities are becoming more like service stations (Duke 1992), where individuals pop in to refuel before continuing the next phase of their life, then the globalisation of other retail outlets will be reflected in university adult and continuing education, the shift from the local corner shop to the international supermarket chain the internet and the teleburean. The saviour of adult and continuing education may well be its insistent ability to reinvent itself, to celebrate the local yet resist location, to operate both strategically and tactically. Jameson's 'fuzzy subsets' are embodied in the social and individual heterogenous student population in the creation of their own spaces in which they can put their learning to a variety of uses and subvert the normalising processes of disciplinary power.

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Maintaining spaces for adult learners in science

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Introduction

The first part of the paper presents a profile of some four hundred and seventy adult learners, resident in the Greater London area, who wished to gain access to the learning space in science, and undertook a one year part-time evening Science Foundation course within the University of London. The majority studied at the central London site of Birkbeck College, the college within the University which devotes its teaching, almost exclusively, to meet the needs of part-time evening learners. A small number of students took the identical course which is run on the site of an FE College in a London suburb. The profile is derived from research following six cohorts of science students entering the course from September 1992 to September 1997. The profile describes the space occupied by the learners in terms of where they lived, their age, educational and employment background, gender and ethnicity and these are linked to progression within full and part-time higher education. The concluding discussion looks at the implications of the study for part-time learners in general and for learners of science in particular.

Profile of part-time adult learners in science 1992-1998

Data for this profile of some four hundred and seventy students is derived from a database compiled using Access. The students included in the study were those who had satisfied all requirements for completion of the science foundation course. Completion rates for the three most recent years have averaged at 70% with considerably higher rates for first three years of smaller cohorts. Sources of information for the database included course application forms, Higher Education Statistical Agency (HESA) registration forms, initial diagnostic and student self-assessment exercises, class attendance registers, end of course examination /assessment confirmation lists completed by course lecturers, final result lists, progression records including UCAS information lists. Destination and progression information, particularly over the long period until students reach graduation, was inevitably the hardest to obtain. However as a result of direct contact by telephone to individual students, information from registries or student records offices of institutions to which students were thought to have progressed and information provided by contacted students regarding other students, a total of 332 of 481 student entries in the database could be followed up with a reasonable degree of accuracy.

This paper has not sought to differentiate between diverse groups of students in terms of course results since the average mark for all groups was well above that required for satisfactory completion, and has concentrated instead on building a profile of participants and the mode and duration of the period of their participation within the Higher Education as learners of science. Some data tables have been included; not all students have an entry in every field so that the cohort number varies slightly within the different tables that follow and average progression rates vary by one or two per cent for the various samples. As further information becomes available from various sources additional data base entries can be made and the profile will be amended accordingly.

Address profile

Birkbeck College is situated within the borough of Camden very close to the centre of a map covering the entire thirty-three London boroughs. An analysis of 458 post codes of students on the database showed over 60% of students were living in London boroughs closest to the College. Table 1 shows most frequently appearing boroughs.

In a such a central location and drawing on students in greater London it might have been expected that the course would have drawn students more evenly from across the region and this may be true for other courses the College offers. However this profile seems to indicate that learners wanting to return to study on access and foundation programmes are more likely to participate in local provision.. In science where local provision is under threat due to closure of departments in Higher Education institutions, and where participation rates are already low nationally, it should not be assumed that learners will be able to travel further distances in order to participate.

Table 1. Boroughs where students reside

London Borough	Student Number
Camden	55
Lambeth	39
Wandsworth	27
Westminster	26
Hackney	25
Haringey	23
Lewisham	21
Brent	20
Islington	19
Southwark	16
Ealing	16
TOTAL students	287 (63% of 458)

Analysis of post codes raised other questions about who controls access to the learning space. There were at least three boroughs where the course administrator was aware that librarians were reluctant to take course leaflets for distribution to their public and participation from these boroughs was low. Likewise the control and allocation of space within publications listing courses available across the Capital may withhold information from learners by excluding courses outside particular networks and federations. Thus the learner will remain unaware of some of the educational routes available although these may be the ones which would best meet their learning needs and potential.

Age profile

Table 2 shows that the majority of students, almost 80%, were in the age range 21-35 years with the highest number of students in the range 26-30 years. The age profile has not fluctuated greatly across the six cohorts of students with the range 26-30 years being consistently of highest frequency for each year's intake.

Table 2. Age profile

Age Range/years	Student Number
under 20	7
21 - 25	123
26 - 30	145
31 -35	87
36 – 40	39
41 – 45	21
46 – 50	17
51 – 55	5
56 – 60	5
over 60	5
TOTAL students	454

Educational background

Students were asked to give information on their previous education on the application form. Where this was specified, the highest level of education has been used. Table 3 is based on the students' entries on the application forms. Where results were from overseas examinations, they have been included in the nearest similar category of traditional United Kingdom qualifications. 'Arts/Humanities degree' includes all degree subjects except science, mathematics or engineering. These three general subject areas are classified as 'Science degree'. 'A' level indicates study at General Certificate of Education Advanced Level which may not have been completed. The GCSE, General Certificate of Secondary Education, category also includes students for whom the former Ordinary Level (OL) or Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) qualifications were the highest levels reported.

Table 3. Educational background and continuation within Higher Education

Educational background category	Student Number	Number as % of total students	Number continuing in HE	Number as % of total continuing in HE	% of enrolled category continuing in HE
Arts/Humanities degree	69		32		46
Science degree	16		7		44
HNC/HND	11		9		82
Teaching diploma	5		1		20
Subtotal–previous experience of HE	101	23	49	19	48
'A' level experience; may not have completed	131	30	90	35	69
Maximum GCSE level	208	47	119	46	57
TOTAL	440	100	258	100	58

If the profile of all 440 students is compared to the profile of those continuing within Higher Education it can be seen that the percentage with GCSE as the highest qualification remains almost constant at 46% whilst the percentage with 'A' level experience edges forward from 30% to 35% of cohort, and the group with previous Higher Education experience drops from 23% to 19% of the cohort.

Employment profile

Five categories of employment derived from the students' descriptions on the application forms were defined:

1. **Casual/low waged** was used for those with low waged or casual work such as security guards for whom no qualifications had been necessary.
2. **Office** work included employees in banks and offices and included those describing themselves as receptionists.
3. **Technical** work included laboratory and Information Technology technicians, and other descriptions which were obviously technical.
4. **Administrative** work included those students who defined their job as an administrator.
5. **Professional** work included all students who gave a named profession as their job.
6. **Unemployed.** The application forms requested students to 'name occupation (if applicable)' and to give details of their most recent employment with dates; where no answer was given to these questions it was assumed students were unemployed. This category also included those with domestic responsibilities who were without paid employment.

Application forms were not available for some students hence no information on employment was on record.

Table 4. Nature of Employment

Employment Category	Student Number	Number as % of cohort
Unemployed	146	34
Casual/low waged	75	17

Office	72	17
Technical	36	8
Administration	24	6
Professional	77	18
Total	430	100

The unemployed and casual/low waged categories made up an overall 50% of the cohort over the six years of intake. For the three intakes from 1993 to 1995 this figure remained almost constant at 48% but for the 1996 and 1997 intakes the figure rose to 59% and 57% respectively.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity was taken from information given in student registration forms and for earlier cohorts from the student application forms. Asian includes Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Asian Other. Other includes those who categorised themselves as Black Other, Black British, Other and a very few for whom no category had been listed on the form.

Table 5. Ethnicity and continuation within HE

Ethnic Category	Student number	Number as % of total students	Total number continuing in HE	Number full-time	Number part-time	% of enrolled category continuing in HE
Black African	79	16	42	10	32	53
Afro-Caribbean	30	6	17	5	12	57
Asian (includes Asian Other)	37	8	19	10	9	51
Other (includes Black Other)	36	7	20	10	10	56
Sub-total: ethnic minority	182	38	98	35	63	54
Not given	12	2	6	1	5	50
White	287	60	166	98	68	57
Total	481	100	270	134	132	56

The percentage continuing their studies after completing their Science Foundation course varied only by a small percentage from the average of 56% for the different groups. However there was a significant difference in the mode of study chosen with 64% of ethnic minority groups continuing part-time compared with only about 40% of the remaining cohort choosing the part-time mode.

Subject choice, gender and ethnicity

Students study two science subjects intensively on their foundation course, involving attendance on two evenings each week for thirty weeks. The biology/chemistry option was chosen by 54% of the cohort who wished to prepare for life science degrees which included vocational areas such as pharmacy, physiotherapy and dietetics. A small number, 6%, chose a mathematics/chemistry option and a further 40% the physics/mathematics or mathematics/further mathematics options for a variety of exit routes which included the physical sciences, mathematics, computer science and engineering. Of course many of these pathways, particularly those leading to professional status within health-related areas, are not available part-time which immediately closes them to some learners. Routes to BEng and chartered engineer are available part-time for those already working in the industry on a day-release basis, but learners without this foothold find access difficult via a part-time route.

Approximately 42% of the student entries to the database were for women. Gender affected choice of subject, as might be expected, with a bias of women towards life sciences where they comprised approximately 60% of students but with the proportion dropping to only 23% in physics and mathematics.

Ethnicity was, more surprisingly, also found to influence subject choice. Approximately 38% of the student entries to the database were for ethnic minorities; these showed a strong bias towards physics and mathematics where they comprised almost 50% of students with the proportion dropping to only 26% in the life sciences. These groups, participating in local provision, are most likely to be affected by the closure of Higher Education science departments where the physical sciences and engineering have been targets for closure.

Continuation and progress in Higher Education

Table 5 shows that the number continuing to participate beyond the foundation level over the six cohorts from 1993 to 1998 was approximately 56% and that over the six years the number has divided equally between full and part-time modes. Apart from the first year where a small cohort had a high continuation rate that was not typical rates have fluctuated around this figure. However the figure for the 1998/99 year appears to have dropped well below previous years to 41%. Since some data is incomplete for this year it is early to say whether this represents a new trend and figures for 1999/00 are needed for comparison.

Students from the first two cohorts completing their foundation studies in 1993 and 1994 and continuing their studies full-time graduated in 1996 or 1997 from various institutions, whilst the earliest completions of four year part-time evening degrees were in 1997 and 1998. The sample is small and less diverse in composition than later cohorts of foundation students, and some data for the 1998 graduations is not complete. This should be borne in mind when considering the discussion which follows which relates to the first small sample of 56 students who started their degrees in 1993 and 1994.

There are 24 confirmed graduations, including 4 at Class 1and 13 at Class 2.1, from this continuing cohort of 56 students with a further 6 expected to be confirmed. Of the confirmed results 16 are for full-time and 8 for part-time students. If degree results awaited are confirmed this will raise the graduation figures from 43 to 54% of the initial cohort. Women comprised 16 of the 24 graduates of whom 4 were from ethnic minorities; the overall figure for ethnic minorities was 5. The four women from the minority ethnic groups did not follow the pattern of the other women in the sample, who all graduated in the Life Sciences, but two graduated in the combined degree of Mathematics, Statistics and Computing, one in Computer Science and one in Management. The male student from this minority group graduated in Information Systems and Management.

Data for the 56 students shows that a very much greater number of part-time students withdrew before completing their degrees. A small proportion of these withdrawals can be accounted for by the inclusion of a small number who gave a firm acceptance of part-time places and attended a few weeks without committing themselves with the payment of fees. Despite this caveat the data clearly points to the greater difficulties facing part-time learners over the extended period from start to finish of a full degree programme and this finding will be discussed in the conclusions that follow.

Conclusions

Learning part-time

It will come as no surprise to those who teach adult learners that many intending to complete an undergraduate degree part-time over several years simply get lost on the way. Problems are exacerbated in science where heavy curriculum content and the requirement for laboratory work, stipulated by professional bodies accrediting degrees, can lead to a demanding schedule of three evenings attendance each week over four years. Some learners withdraw early but many complete one, two, three or even four years before they finally find themselves unable to continue. At this point they are left with no recognition of their years of study and commitment. For those fortunate enough to be supported by an employer and on a day release scheme the chance of completion is very much greater, linked as it is to employee development and progression within a corporation. Much

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needs to be done to increase the number of employers involved in such schemes but institutions of Higher Education could also do far more. It is essential to find a way to give credit to each year of part-time learning preferably with the award of a named national qualification. In science this might involve the existing HNC, HND, BSc route but these would need adapting since as they stand they are often separated by two years of full-time study. A solution must be found if learners are to be valued and participation encouraged.

Learning science

First results from this study show that women, more likely to be from groups traditionally participating in Higher Education but without previous access to education in science, are making use of opportunities to study the Life Sciences where they comprised 60% of the foundation cohort and a very high proportion of the first small cohort of graduates. The subjects in which they graduated included Zoology, Ecology, Biomedical Sciences, Nutrition and Physiotherapy. These women were thus able to successfully negotiate their way through the system and a number have gone on to post-graduate studies or to employment directly related to their degree qualification.

The ethnic minority students, who comprised 38% of students in the study but 50% of the physics and mathematics foundation group, were more likely to wish to take degrees in the mathematical and physical sciences, computer science and engineering; the success of some of these students within the first cohort of graduates has already been noted. The present demise of small departments in the Physical Sciences and Engineering within UK Higher Education may represent a real threat to participation in science for students from non-traditional groups as it is by no means clear that their replacement by a smaller number of large grade 5* research rated departments will serve the needs of a diverse body of learners in local communities. The changes have arisen from a growing acceptance that in the current research climate a threshold number of some 25 research active staff is needed for a science department to gain a top grade to fund its research.

Problems of access are not confined to adult learners in science. Smithers, 1997, referred to the 'gentrification' of science which he believed was being brought about by national curriculum demands on state schools from which the independent sector was exempt. In a national survey conducted over the period 1992 to 1994 monitoring the uptake of 'A' level sciences he found that uptake by males from the independent sector outstripped that from the state sector. His concern was to keep open the routes into Higher Education which science had provided in the 1960s for working class males with numerical and spatial abilities but whose language development may have been impoverished. It could be these same factors which make the areas of physical and mathematical sciences attractive to adult learners from non-traditional groups within this present study.

The Institute of Physics, 1999, noted that the UK graduates approximately 2500 new first degrees in physics each year and that for 1998/99 enrolments into post-graduate certificate courses in education, as registered to the Graduate Teacher Training Registry, numbered just 181 on the date of 26/9/98, a fall of 35% on the previous year. The Institute notes the possibility, for which it takes care to say there is as yet no evidence, that curriculum differences between the state and independent sectors might affect career decisions of young physics teachers.

The science community in the UK must remain vigilant to ensure that pressures for economic viability, and the drive for research to compete on a world stage, do not cause it to retreat into centres of excellence unwilling or unable to encourage participation from diverse groups of young or adult learners.

Counihan, 1994, maintained that there was steadily lessening support for the view of science as of intrinsic intellectual and cultural worth whereby to be allowed to understand science is everybody's human right.

> Unfortunately, the practice of adult education depends on its context and on the background culture. In British universities, scientific adult education depends on institutional support and

> government acceptance of scientific ideals. As those ideals are undermined, or diverted, or radically altered, as they surely are being, so scientific adult education will have to create a new future for itself.

In 1999 as changes take place in the structure and organisation of science departments in higher education innovative ways to maintain the presence of science on the campus must be sought. The extent to which we strive to include is a measure of the value placed both on science and the learners seeking participation.

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Back to the land? Service and self-interest in adult education in rural England 1920-1945

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There was a strong current of thought in inter-war Europe that saw the rural as a reservoir of the spiritual capital of the nation, a location for its essential identity. Such a concern stimulated back to the land movements across western Europe. These took a variety of forms but were not simply romantic reactions against modernisation. As Gruffudd, for example, shows, back to the land movements in inter-war Wales represented 'utopian fusions of tradition and modernity which challenged the polarized notion of rural stagnation and urban modernization' (Gruffudd, 1994 : 62).

An ideology of ruralism had in the meantime become a central component of ideas of Englishness (Howkins, 1986). Miller (1995) suggests that the English case marks an extreme position. English commentators from Stanley Baldwin to J.B.Priestley were, by the 1920s, representing themselves as 'basically and innately' a rural people (Miller, 1995, 99). This entailed a view of the English countryside as timeless and tranquil, a place under threat from forces of modernisation and suburbanisation. But the inter-war period also saw growing encounters of these urban and rural worlds, one of the interfaces being that of rural adult education. The village college proposal of Henry Morris in Cambridgeshire is a case in point (Rees, 1973 : 81). Morris was 'intensely conservative' in his emphasis on morality, cultural continuity and an organic rural community with consensual social relations. But he was also a moderniser in terms of prefiguring ideas of lifelong learning and the integration of educational with the wider social, cultural and recreational activities of the community (Fieldhouse, 1996 : 52-53, 110-119).

In this paper we re-visit adult education in rural England in this period and contrast two other rural areas and two, superficially, very different paradigms for adult education. We will argue that, despite apparent differences, both our cases represent an ethos of 'service and self-interest' (Marriott, 1984). They were both top-down interventions that allowed professional and administrative elites to move to, and to live and work in rural areas. Both projects also imagined the rural within a particular framework of class and gender relations.

The first case study deals with a relatively well documented 'Responsible Body' in terms of the work of the WEA in interwar Cornwall and the growth of somewhat *ad hoc* liberal arts provision. The second study identifies a hitherto neglected space in the education of adults by examining the work of the Agriculture and Education Committees in Devon during the same period, when, as Marriott notes, local authorities were showing 'increasing' interest in adult education (Marriott, 1984: 96) and collaborating with voluntary organisations such as Women's Institutes.

The Workers Educational Association in Cornwall

Cornwall in the 1920s was a rural society with a dispersed settlement pattern of small market towns, villages and hamlets. Indeed, rural depopulation in Cornwall since the 1860s had been more pronounced than in other rural areas. The population shrank by 12% from 1861 to 1921 as the mining industry contracted sharply. A half-century of de-industrialisation had transformed this former rural industrial society into a deprived area of poverty, low expectations and a culture of out-migration. Chronic unemployment provides the background for the inter-war period. Male unemployment in the winter of 1935, not the worst winter of the 1930s by any means, averaged 22%. But in some rural areas it was much higher. For example in Gunnislake in the Tamar Valley 65% of men were without work; in the china clay villages of mid-Cornwall, an area badly hit by falling American demand for clay, male unemployment was 44%; in the old tin mining village of St.Agnes it was 38%.

The WEA had first appeared in Cornwall at a time of optimism and hope. From 1917 widespread general trades unionism established itself in Cornish communities in a context of a rising demand for labour. Economic demands were mirrored by social demands as newly formed Trades and Labour Councils, dominated by the Workers Union, began to make themselves heard. Out of this maelstrom came the first WEA branch, in late 1918, in Truro, anticipating the new South West District of the WEA by a few months. But this model of adult education, a product of the local upsurge of labour unrest, was short-lived. In 1920 the economic boom abated and in 1921 Cornwall was plunged back into the familiar throes of depression as the general restructuring problems of the British economy were exacerbated locally by a catastrophic drop in metal prices which decimated the remains of the Cornish mining industry. Economic collapse intersected with the relatively shallow roots labour organisations had in Cornish society. Support for WEA classes dried up. A special note was attached to the class statistics for 1921/22: 'Industrial depression has affected Cornwall classes severely' (WEA District Reports, 1920/21 and 1921/22). By 1926 the branch at Truro, one that in 1919/1920 had boasted a larger membership than the WEA branch in the city of Plymouth, had effectively collapsed. The number of WEA classes in Cornwall showed no growth between 1920 and 1928, with around 10 to 14 classes a year and those mainly in the towns.

With autonomous demands for adult education slow to appear and difficult to sustain, another model was needed. This was provided by the WEA's central organisation from 1927. From that year Districts were urged to promote educational work in rural areas. In 1930 the Carnegie Trust responded to a request for help by a three year grant for extension work in Cornwall, later extended by another two years, which ran from 1931 to 1936. With this grant the District was able to appoint two full-time tutor-organisers. In West Cornwall a young Oxford graduate and son of a local railwayman, F.L.Harris, was appointed. T.G.Jones, a Welshman and former steel worker with a long connection with the WEA in South Wales, took up the other post in mid-Cornwall.

The effect of the two full time tutors and extra resources was immediate. The number of classes increased from 13 in 1928/29 to over 60 by 1933/34. New centres were opened and old ones revived. For the first time the WEA was reaching areas outside the old industrial and market towns. Places such as St.Columb Minor, Tregony, St.Erme and Flushing reverberated to the clamour of villagers discovering their WEA classes. Clay parishes such as Nanpean and Roche and fishing communities such as Gorran and Mevagissey echoed to discussions stimulated by the WEA. This growth period of 1929 to 1934 was followed by a period of retrenchment when the Carnegie grant ended. But this was cushioned by the appointment of F.L.Harris as University College, Exeter's first Resident Tutor in Cornwall in 1935. Close relations continued between WEA and university in Cornwall where local branches were neither sufficiently strong nor established to challenge professional leadership.

But what did the rural extension of 1930-35 achieve? In what ways was it specifically rural? In one way it was the opposite of Henry Morris's community college idea. Classes and branches were implanted in the villages by professionals who lived in the towns and went to the countryside to organise and to deliver courses. Later, F.L.Harris claimed to have evolved a 'rural plan' (communication from the late F.L.Harris). This involved some experimental liaison with non-traditional partners, such as Men's and Women's Institutes and Young Methodist groups, in a quest to root adult education in local communities where the traditional labour movement was absent. But it was not a specifically rural approach. In Cornwall, rural areas were containers for a generic approach adopted for local conditions rather than objects of a specific strategy.

The WEA may not have had a clearly rural strategy when it embarked on rural extension. Bit it did bring with it its own assumptions about class and gender relations. It seems that Mansbridge had intended that 'at least three quarters of tutorial classes should be actual labouring men and women (Blyth, 1983, 14). But in Cornwall there was never a golden age of working class education. The proportion of manual workers, male and female, attending WEA classes peaked in 1926-28 at 21%.

The extension work, if anything, saw a slight reduction in this proportion. There was, however, some increase in those described as farmers and fishermen, from just 1% in 1926-28 to 4% in 1931-33. But this still meant that these rural groups were grossly under-represented in WEA classes. Despite the attention paid to extension work among the unemployed classes were more likely to be populated by professional, clerical, retail and retired groups, including women as will be discussed below.

Whereas the WEA's target population remained, broadly, the working class, gender was for all intents and purposes an invisible issue for its local professionals. And yet 48% of Cornish students were women in the 1920s. In the rural extension period this proportion fell back to 42%, perhaps due to the emphasis put on work amongst the (male) unemployed in those years. However, by the later 1930s, more women were attending WEA classes than men. Some of these women were already distinguished scholars. For instance, at Fowey, a Mrs Singer was a leading expert in medieval Spanish and had published work on alchemical manuscripts in European libraries. Nevertheless, most of the students remembered in oral accounts of the WEA in this period (by male tutors) were men. The classic account of a rural student is of a farm labourer who attended classes at Breage, a former mining village in West Cornwall, in the 1930s. As this student could not afford to buy books he trudged the four miles to the nearest market town, Helston, every Saturday evening in order to stand by a bookstall reading the stock. In this way he apparently successfully taught himself Greek! (information from Frank Turk and F.L.Harris).

The iconic stature of this 'ideal' student; male, working class, a living reminder of the self-taught Victorian autodidact, resonated deeply with the assumptions and mores of the Oxbridge educated professionals who, by the 1930s, directed the WEA in Cornwall. For this group the WEA ideal represented an escalator for working men and women to escape the constraints of time and place, an escape that they themselves had already made. In such an ideal rural/urban distinctions had little overt presence. The countryside was not romanticised; it was not seen as something innately traditional and its traditions were not something to be particularly conserved. Instead they were to be transcended through education and social mobility. Such mobility necessarily involved geographical mobility too - out of the countryside. In such a project, extending liberal adult education to rural areas was not a matter of the collective regeneration of such areas but of opening the gates to individual liberation. The ideological framework was that of service but underlying this was an outcome of self-interest as educators established their position as interpreters of academic culture to rural communities.

Agricultural adult education in Devon

It is perhaps not generally appreciated that many of the newly formed county councils in the 1890's allocated 'whisky money' from the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise Act) for the development of agricultural education (Tyler,1973) during a period in which the largest agricultural depression and flight from the land took place. The period before 1914 also witnessed the growth of agricultural colleges, research stations and county farm institutes. The professionalisation of what was still a considerable industry provided many of the lecturers and instructors who emerged in 1918 as county Agricultural Organisers and staff, and Devon proved to be no exception, particularly since its agricultural education establishment expanded duringthe interwar period. In 1921,for example, the staff of the council's Agricultural Department had a complement of eight (the Organiser himself, two district lecturers in Agriculture and one in Horticulture, two instructresses in Dairying and one instructor in Farriery and Poultry Husbandry respectively (DCC Agriculture Committee Minutes 2/12/21). By 1939, twenty full time staff were employed, thus appearing to confirm the expansionary trend already noted in Cornwall.

It could be argued that the two situations are dissimilar, since agricultural education was more vocational in contrast to that of the Cornish WEA and its efforts were directed at many who would not be categorised as being adult by contemporary or modern standards. However, it would appear that many adults did benefit from the county's schemes of agricultural education, particularly if the members of women's organisations are included, and if the term 'agriculture' is expanded to cover areas such as rural science. Moreover, the often rurally regenerative initiatives in agricultural development promoted by the state had a beneficial effect in terms of adult participation. Almost perversely, in times of war, depression and hardship, agricultural education for adults flourished. We can now turn to examine the reasons why this transpired.

The government (and Ministry of Agriculture's) directives and funding from which adults were ultimately to benefit related to fertilisers and feeding stuffs, land drainage, pest control, animal diseases and the development of grassland, by which county councils were to act as regulatory bodies or conduct experiments as appropriate. The underlying rationale for such developments was concerned with increasing the productivity of land, livestock and agricultural self sufficiency after Germany's attempt to starve the population by submarine warfare. How these developments were translated into agricultural education in Devon was the responsibility of the Agricultural Organiser, who may equally be perceived to be building an empire in the process with the tacit approval of the county council as an LAE provider.

Even during the first world war and before, the county placed emphasis on outreach work particularly relating to dairying and farriery, and equipped vans were used to visit village centres throughout the year. After the war, such provision was rationalised by the division of the county into four districts served by individual sub-committees to whom four lecturers in agriculture were responsible. Each district drew up its own educational plan in response to local need, but developmental work also provided a further rationale for the appointment of lecturing staff. Such work ranged from teaching three year, qualificatory Agricultural Education evening classes (usually two per district) to individual advisory appointments with farmers or smallholders *in situ.* The nature of these appointments varied immensely, but rises in the figures often coincided with the publication of another government initiative, particularly as war loomed. Examples here might be related to the Ploughing up of Grasslands directive or the Land Fertilisation Act which resulted in lecturers advising farmers on the nature of their farm's soil and what quantities of lime or slag should be used to enhance its productivity. Figures extant show that 91446 visits had taken place from 1931 to 1939, when a fifth district had been created and an additional lecturer appointed. These figures also include interviews with farmers at markets and county shows. Throughout the interwar period lecturers also organised a series of successful Manual Process classes in each district in thatching, spar and rope making, ploughing, sheep shearing, hedging and ditching, stock taking and milking for labourers and farmer's sons. Talks to Agricultural Discussion Societies and Young Farmer's Clubs were also seen as agricultural development work, and by 1938 Devon led the field nationally with 50 such Clubs (DCC Minutes: Agriculture Sub-Committee Report 15/12/38).

Advisory visits and so forth included horticultural as well as agricultural developments, particularly after the cessation of free trade in 1931 which encouraged local smallholders to expand, market and package their produce and respond to the new opportunities afforded by protective tariffs on eggs, bacon, fruit and vegetables. A rise in the number of horticultural instructors ensued, together with improvements in their pay and conditions of service. Three other notable developments took place relating to the horticultural education of adults in Devon which also aided this expansion. One was concerned with the collaborative links created with the Devon Federation of Women's Institutes (DFWI), by which Miss Gunnell, a permanent, full time instructor in Horticulture was seconded in furtherance of women's agricultural work in the county in 1929 (DCC Agricultural Committee Minutes 11/9/29). This work related to the growing of small fruit bushes, and the production and preservation of food in general and resulted in over a thousand lectures and demonstrations taking place before the outbreak of war. By 1939 Miss Gunnell required an assistant no doubt in anticipation of the WI's wartime role in fruit preservation and canning.

The second development related to collaboration between a local cider manufacturer and the Agricultural Committee with regard to the extension of Devon's apple orchards. In the late 1920's a scheme was proposed and developed whereby free apple trees would be distributed to selected growers on condition that the manufacturer would receive one free ton of apples in return when the fruit trees reached maturity (DCC Agricultural Committee Minutes 16/1/25) This initiative alone resulted in a considerable number of classes and demonstrations in propagation, grafting, staking of trees and orchard management and which in part necessitated the doubling of the horticulture instructors by the end of the interwar period. But the most significant development related to the training of teachers in gardening and rural science; an initiative which emerged from a joint sub-committee in Education and Agriculture in the late 1920's and which aimed to promote an interest in poultry, bee-keeping and dairying in rural schools. Four additional instructresses were appointed to work with teachers in order to progress this work, and which resulted in 70-100 schools per year offering rural science to their pupils.

These six monthly classes were supplemented by visits from the travelling Dairy School which had been losing students due to the industrialisation of cheese and butter making processes. An additional rationale for the existence of the School was provided due to increases in maternal mortality and morbidity and poverty during the early 1930's, the pressure for milk in schools (particularly in Devon where there was a surplus of milk) and for nursing mothers and infants, in association with the Ministry's Clean Milk and Milk Marketing campaigns. Thus, a further instructress was appointed to assist Miss Bray, the county instructress in Dairying, whose career also illustrates the marginalisation of women in agricultural education and in the sector as a whole (Tilly and Scott: 1978)

Miss Bray was originally appointed in 1902 and became Head Instructress in 1913 at a salary of £120 p.a. Just prior to her retirement in 1939, her salary was raised to £350 p.a. a sum by which, according to the practices in Devon, agricultural and some (male) horticultural lecturers could expect within five years of their appointment. Even though Miss Bray had acted as judge in Buttermaking at national and local dairy shows, and was twice commended by the Agricultural Committee for training Champion Dairymaids (DCC Minutes 18/11/31 and 2/12/35) this achievement was not acknowledged by a rise in salary. Indeed, the county's Finance Committee twice refused proposed rises for her. Perhaps the context of the times demonstrates this bias in favour of male employees and breadwinners. For example, the number of Ministry of Agriculture scholarships awarded by the county to young adults were increased in favour of males during the height of the depression (DCC Agricultural Sub-Committee Minutes 18/11/31) whilst the Committee agreed to advertise for a male horticultural instructor in 1925 (2/12/25). The Dairy School did obtain additional help as war approached but this was related to the training of Land Army girls in dairywork, a further expansionary activity insofar as the Agriculture Department was concerned, but from which Miss Bray was unable to benefit. Her example, therefore, may illustrate that service rather than self interest informed employment in some aspects of agricultural education.

Miss Bray's example also points to the career opportunities afforded to women involved in agricultural education *per se* since although their prospects were enhanced as appears to be the case in Devon, their pay and status was normally lower than that of their male counterparts, particularly regarding work with children and other women. For example, most of Miss Gunnell's work in horticultural instruction prior to her secondment with the DFWI was concerned with school gardening.

Conclusion

We have argued that both models of rural adult education afford examples of 'top-down' interventions which allowed professionals to move, live and work in a period of expansion for higher education institutions, some voluntary organisations, and LEAs. We have also shown how economic as well as ideological factors relating to the land may have informed such interventions, the whole being informed by a framework of interwar class and gender relations. The Manual Process classes offered in Devon fulfilled many of these objectives, by aiming to keep a low paid but valued sector of the British race on the land, whilst Women's Institutes agricultural education promoted 'active domesticity' at home or in the Empire (Thompson: 2000). However, an explanation as to why Devon was one of the few counties which pioneered community education in the immediate post-war period may be due to aspects of its rural education programme, which attempted to prevent rural depopulation, increase farm incomes, enhance the quality of life for the rural population and provide vocational opportunities for its children. The advisory work with farmers and smallholders may be seen as being more responsive to adult learners - 'starting with what farmers know about current practices and then relating change to their particular concerns' (Rogers, 1993:167) and can be seen as pioneering work in adult extension. There may well be other reasons as to why educational empires were constructed during the interwar period other than for 'evangelism, the desire to do good, careerism or self-aggrandisement' (Marriott, 1984: 100). On the evidence shown by this survey, however, it appears that *male* professionals in rural adult education had the most to gain from going 'back to the land'.

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Adult Education and Social Movements: the significance and workings of social movements as a part of the civil society, an approach from the angle of adult and continuing education

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This paper is intended to trace the meaning and the workings of social movements during the nineties but clearly from an learning angle. The first section outlines our theoretical background regarding the concept of 'social movement' and we will develop a model locates the internal and external workings of social movements. In the second part we look at our changing society and the consequences of this aspect on social movements. From a theoretical point of view, social movements – and I consider the recent White Movement as one – have three possible social functions in their external workings: animation and the formation of a network, education and training, and social as well as cultural activation and the promotion of interests.

In the third part we identify three distinct types of social movement which can be traced : old and new social movements, and present-day action groups.

Finally, we look at number of challenges and necessary changes regarding the struggle for emotional involvement.

1. A concept and an operational model of social movements

The phenomenon of social movement is, in fact, not directly tangible. Everybody talks about it and knows several movements, but the exact meaning of the term usually remains rather vague. The term in itself doesn't have anything to do with organizations or associations. The term only refers to the fact that something is moving in the social context. Therefore, we can speak of a struggle for emotional involvement. The common essence of the matter usually does find its expression in the fact that it concerns people who go into collective action around a particular theme in order to extort particular wishes from society (Hellemans, 1990: 29).

Together with Walgrave (1992: 81) we use the following description of the concept of social movement : A social movement is (1) a number of organizations and agents, including domain-specific organizations which exert pressure by means of collective action outside of the institutionalized political affiliations (3) on the authorities, with the intention to (2) create lasting social changes or the preservation of a particular situation. These social militant issues are not isolated but (4) are part of a more encompassing ideology, of a social plan. In its collective action (5) the movement unfolds its massiveness.

We would like to find out what social movements actually do. We call this the workings of social movements. To us 'movement-work' seems a standing expression which we can use to refer to ' the workings of social movements'.

By analogy with the two different meanings which Jolles (1963: 13), Boer and Hijmans (1963: 11-12), Dumon (1969: 284-285) attach to the concept of movement, we would like to clarify that a movement also has internal and external workings. With regards to the internal workings we are referring to, on the one hand, unifying and expansive tendencies and the vertical and horizontal organizational expansion, and, on the other hand, we are referring to dissension and disintegrative tendencies in the movement. As far as the external workings are concerned, we are dealing with the social project of social movements. We consider the functions of social movements in our societal context. The term 'function' means 'the effect which a phenomenon has'. When we talk about an assignment or a goal, we refer to desired phenomena. We wish to emphasize the real workings in society. In other words, we would like to find out what social movements are for (external workings) and how they function (internal workings). A movement can then, on the one hand, be considered as 'social technique'. This refers to a method used to realize certain goals. On the other hand, a movement also points to a group of people. This essentially refers to the structure and the number of members. Considering a movement as a social technique emphasizes the realization of a certain goal. We will call this the external workings. Considering a movement as a group puts an emphasis on the people who come together and the organizations who work together. Born out of a particular emotional involvement, the emphasis (unwanted, unplanned and without steering) is placed on the social technique, on the realization of a certain goal. When the emotional involvement expands into a social movement, the emphasis simultaneously shifts towards the social aspect, towards the group, towards the co-operation between organizations and agents.

We define the external workings as the 'primary goals', the reason the movement was been founded for, that which constitutes its soul. It is in this area that a movement should score certain effects. This is its essential reason for being. Its members, supporters and other people involved base its significance for themselves on this. Being involved in essential matters is a motivating type of work. The internal workings on the other hand could be defined as 'secondary goals'. It's the necessary evil which has to make sure that the primary goals can be realized. Those types of secondary aspects are mostly directed towards efficiency and therefore they are always a function of something else. The members, supporters and other people mostly involved benefit if this process runs smoothly. Being occupied with these aspects, however, has, almost exclusively, everything to do with factors which maintain the situation. Often, a relation of tension develops between the primary (external workings) and secondary (internal workings) aspects, which are located on a goal-means continuum. Primary goals of social movements deal with emancipation and flexibility. This concerns the *movement*-goal. Secondary goals of social movements deal with mastery and control. It's a question of means of *control*. We are dealing with a paradox here : movement is on the one hand the complete opposite of control, and on the other hand movement cannot exist without control. Keeping the tension between the internal and the external workings liveable is a big challenge for social movements - see chart 1.

Chart 1 : A model of movement-work

	People	Organisation
Primary goals	significance	effectiveness
Movement	motivating factors	external workings
Secondary goals	profits	efficiency
Control	maintaining factors	internal workings

Social movements serve a social purpose. An essential characteristic is the practice of influencing policy makers. The social context is worked on in various ways. Society is very dynamic, very much like culture, and therefore it is constantly on the move, developing. There are three different levels on which society can be worked on in an intentional way. Policy shapes options and structures in a concrete fashion, and takes the final responsibility for it all (politics). Here, we are dealing with the social system (Habermas). Another level is that of the *individual social work* which tends to the immediate needs of individuals within socially deprived groups. This type of assistance is geared towards instant solutions, also attempts to avoid problems as much as possible by working on prevention. This deals with the (individual) life situation (Habermas). The third level is the one concerning *movement-work*. On the one hand, this has common features with policy in as far as it describes problems and outlines lines of force for solutions by means of programmes, without presenting readymade answers. On the other hand, it also shares common areas with social work by means of services as a part of an integral approach. These common areas are essential, which is why movement-work cannot act in an unworldly way. However, it cannot function to such an extent in the above mentioned fields that it loses its own, typical function. Movement-work is directed towards cultural change. The three aspects of culture are a part of it. The ideological aspect remains important because it mentions that which is valuable and because it cultivates an involvement with values. The behavioural aspect is expressed in attitudes which express involvement with values, which describe the problems in connection with that involvement. The material aspect is important as well, because it leads to the creation of cultural goods which enable people to express their ideological and behavioural culture. See chart 2.

Chart 2 : Various forms of working on society

POLITICS-POLICY
programmes
SOCIAL MOVEMENTS
services
SOCIAL WORK

Movement-work is therefore situated in the middle area between social policy (politics) and individual services (social work). As such, it can again be presented as the place where the individual and society touch each other. Social movements are situated on and work on the edge between the world one lives in and the social system (De Aguirre, 1992).

If we consider external movement-work as a type of social-cultural work, we can transfer its various functions. Basing ourselves on the literature, we can distinguish four major functions of social-cultural work or function blocks (Dekeyser, 1990: 32-33). The first function is *education and training*. We make a distinction with the concept of adult education. We use the latter as an overall concept for the various types of work. Training is a word we use to refer to a planned activity and mutual influence when it concerns the totality of organized and systematic activities of learning. This function is clearly directed towards learning. By that, we mean knowledge and increase of expertise, personal development and growth and emancipation. Education, then, is working on schooling, skills development and general personal social training. In order to allow this educational function its fullest potential, movement-work itself should be a critical anchorage which comes close to the individual life situation. We describe the second function block as *social and cultural activation and the promotion of interests*. By this we mean the organization as well as the raising of the awareness of those involved. In a broad sense, this activating function also calls for the promotion of interests. Organizing consists of building a supportive structure which is carried by the people themselves as much as possible. This literally concerns social organization. Raising the awareness means clarifying the causes and backgrounds of discriminations which the people involved are faced with. Raising awareness brings us back to the educational function. Here, we also come back to the function of social participation which is linked to the concept of emancipation. This activating function contains the social organization component as well as the action-component, which are used in social and cultural change. This function corresponds to that which Leirman refers to with the term social linking in its external form. We describe the third function block using the terms *animation and the formation of networks*. By this we mean the stimulation of contacts and meetings (celebration of existence) including recreational possibilities. This is what Leirman calls the internal meaning of the social linking station. This is an essential function, and it is such not only as a stepping stone or something to lower the threshold for both preceding functions. It clearly has a value of its own as a social linking station. The last function block can be described using the term *service*. If movement-work strives for an integral approach, then this function block definitely comes into play, even though it actually belongs to the marginal area. Service is the term we use to refer to offering help in emergency situations, as well on a material as on a social level. It is typical for movement-work that the various functions come into play together, even though its final goal, its finality is social activation. Other forms of social-cultural work allow certain function blocks to dominate while others are made to disappear. The various functions of movement-work are linked to the idea that social movements are situated in the middle area between the social system and the individual life situation. First, we consider movement-work as a negotiating instance between system and life situation. On the one hand, one can experiment with communicative action just like in a workshop or a lab, but on the other hand system–influences are also penetrating and those institutions are also part of social force fields. The function of activation ties in closely with the policy-pole. The function of service with the pole of individual social work. Even though the four functions belong to the essence of movement-work from an integral type of approach, the functions of education and animation belong to the real core and the function of social activation belongs to the finality. This is shown in chart 3.

Chart 3: the functions of movement-work and work on society

POLITICS-POLICY
activation
education
SOCIAL MOVEMENTS
animation
service
SOCIAL WORK

Working with and in social movements is a type of learning action. Therefore, we can find the different types of action within movement-work. In the service- and animation-function communicative action is central. Learning action is part of the process. The dimension of growth is expressed mostly in an educational function as well as in the activational function. Social activation puts more of an emphasis on strategic influencing. The social movement operates in a strategic way, in which phased structures of end – means are premised. Learning action as a process is temporarily combined, throughout the various functions, with 'learning action as a product' into 'learning action as a project'.

Finally, we would like to present an ideal-typical hierarchy for movement-work. The most important function is that of social activation, because the communal organization is the essence for working on a social project. Secondly, there's the educational function, which starts up a learning process in order to achieve action and communal organization. This function contributes to the necessary process of awakening, which leads to social activation along with the organizational process. The animation function is third because it instigates people to forming groups. This formation of groups is necessary for the educational process as well as for the activating process. The function of service is last and is, strictly speaking, not necessary in connection with movement-work. This function serves as a means to help people in need towards group formation, awakening and action. We can also reverse this gradation. Thus, a 'ladder' is used to indicate an (artificial) desirable order of the processes. This path is never strictly linear, but it rather forms an iterative process of searching. See chart 4.

Chart 4: gradation and construction of the functions in movement-work

functions	graduation	construction
activation	1	
education	2	
animation	3	
service	4	

This ideal-typical presentation can be used later on as a framework for analysis in order to detect possible problems in movement-work. Every function presupposes the preceding function. A particular type of social movement, for instance, will never reach the activation-level if there are fundamental shortcomings in the educational function. The same goes for the animation function with regards to the educational function.

2. Society has changed; social movements have as well.

Our ever-changing society is linked to the individualization process and modernity. The collapse of the tea-cozy-culture and the dominance of economic and bureaucratic force fields have not only lead to the advance of the walkman-ego, but also to new forms of communicative individuality.

> These are based on individual reflexivity and they are geared towards the development of a proper, individual existential ethic which doesn't come from competition regarding scarce goods, but which is geared towards qualitatively high-value relations with others. (Kunneman, 1993:87)

The new foundations do indeed always allow for a liberation of the old ideas. There is a naïve belief that a theory can be developed, on the basis of a new foundation and method, which is able to substantiate a liberating practice. The awakening is a process of appropriation and self-determination and it is presented as being liberating. *'In this way, the strategy of the exposure reproduces the emancipation-ideals of the Enlightenment.'*(Burggraeve and Velle, 1993: 126)

These authors are referring to three possible relations between modernity and post-modernity:

1) post-modernity can be regarded as a resignation to the achievements of modernity; then, modernity is an unfinished project; 2) post-modernity can be regarded as the new paradigm, the ultimate breakthrough in culture, the liberation out of the cool rationality of modernity; 3) post-modernity can also enrich modernity from within, and change it, heal it. The latter model is a third viewpoint between the extremely negative evaluation on the one hand and the often somewhat naïve approach on the other hand. There is a shift from an ethical totalitarian system, which was able to cover the entire social-cultural field, to smaller projects within which people constantly question and correct themselves. One could say that the ethical utopia has been replaced by, as it were, the ethical topic.

It is important for the consequences for social movements to consider post-modernity from the point of view of this third viewpoint and not to regard the individualization and its subsequent freedom in a purely negative sense. Let it be clear that the organization of movements originated in the time of modernity and that it was the ultimate system to create the tea-cosy-culture. Movements were also always based on great, emancipatory stories. And they were and are situated in the middle area between the individual and policy-making.

The third viewpoint relates modernity and post-modernity, which results in a qualitatively altered emancipation with regards to social movements. The task and the meaning of social movements has changed with the shift of values. In short: no more helping to identify, but helping to select. This help in selecting means offering opportunities for and teaching skills in selecting, it means offering stable, relational links as an integrating principle with regards to the formation of an identity.

3. Distinct types of social movements.

Our altered society leads to the growth of various interpretations of the concept of social movement. The old model offered solutions for all kinds of problems based on its originating context of monolithic society culture. It was a *problem-solving* model. The new model poses all kinds of problems based on the originating context of plural society and the attached walkman-ego. It is a *problem-posing* model.

A third type also exists 'present-day action-groups'. *New social movements* originated in a plural society and lead to the walkman-ego. They work on specific problems and they especially determine problems. Their entire structure is horizontal. They do not work with ready-made solutions and they allow their members to patch together and select. They do not impose values, but they stimulate the structuring of an individual ethic. We call them problem-posing social movements. New social movements function on the basis of a negative experience of contrast, a fundamental displeasure or an actual awareness of crisis with regards to the societal situation. They are strongly anti-institutional and they radically reject any attempt towards capture by political organizations. They group themselves around very concrete issues, in other words they are, as they are called, directed towards single issues. At the same time, they are directly and concretely directed towards values. New social movements introduce a new language: a rhetorical language which is very emotionally and

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subjectively charged. They use strong symbols in their actions, which address the heart and the imagination. They like to rely on the media. These social movements are active in two areas with regards to the external workings: education and activation.

Present-day action-groups are described extensively by Hooghe(1996). His work presents a good analysis of characteristics of these organizations. They focus on a few issues without too many ideological discussions. They do not demand long-term and all encompassing involvement from their members. They also live from one mobilizing moment to the next. Their activities are strongly directed at getting media coverage and they often go beyond borders. These organizations have adjusted to a new world order which allows no room for national politics and in which the important decisions are taken by international organizations beyond borders. These present-day action-groups are run by professional forces and they spend little or no time on internal, basically democratic decision-making. They seem to go for what's attainable, for the realization of very concrete goals, without worrying about a coherent vision on people and society. These action-groups are only active in one area with regards to their external workings: activation. See chart 5:

Chart 5: Three concepts of social movements

	OLD SOCIAL MOVEMENTS	NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS	PRESENT DAY ACTION GROUPS
CONTENTS	- cultural and economic themes - class oriented	- single-issue	- single-issue
IDEOLOGY	- ideological basis and linked to party politics	- against comparmentalisation and party political links - leftist-liberal	little importance of ideology no coherent vision of man and society
STRATEGY	- participation and deliberation from within - political influence	- outside the institutional framework - no participation in party politics	
STRUCTURE	- institutionalised - professionalised - hierarchical - technocratic	- anti-institutional - small scale - horizontal structure - autonomous	- international - professionalised - hardly basically democratic
EXTERNAL WORKINGS	- activation - education - animation	- activation - education	- activation

4. Challenges and necessary changes

In civil society (the area between the 'they' of the authorities and the 'I' of the individual) there's a battle going on between various types of social movements. It is the struggle for emotional involvement. We'd like to present three essential elements as a way of drawing a global conclusion. There are two distinct paradoxes in our research regarding individualization and social movement.

A first element concerns increasing individualism. A second element concerns the organizational structuring of internal and external aspects of a movement. A third element concerns the determined distinction between three types of social movements.

In summary we identify ways in which movements and action-groups can structure themselves professionally. Here, three changes occur on three levels.

Changes regarding the content level: from transfer of values to shift in values: the middle area should not attempt to take over the old role of the monolithic society as a governing entity. The shift in values in our current times, then, refers to a high standard ethical profile. Movement-work as a struggle for emotional involvement then shifts towards small projects within which people constantly question and correct themself.

Changes on the structural level: from vertical to horizontal: an actual movement should be structured mostly in a horizontal way. The emphasis of the workings is indeed placed on the local level, which gives people the opportunity to work closely to real life. The core of the workings lies within the local chapters. According to Michels (1969) the iron law of oligarchy will counteract this. An important challenge for each movement is the organizational structuring, paying sufficient attention to the local level (horizontal structuring) as well as the unity of action (vertical structuring). A matrix on the local level could offer a solution. This type of matrix-structure on the local level naturally has its consequences on the higher levels. This doesn't only occur on the structural level because it is obvious that the thought-process should be horizontal there as well. However, we are still stuck with the question what extra value remains of a large movement if the vertical two-fold structure is abandoned. There are two aspects. First of all, professional forces are needed for guidance on a specialist level. Who, for instance, is going to guide our project regarding family problems, who will give it a direction and who will help to give its contents some substance? It is impossible to be a specialist in all fields. Secondly, the function of a large movement is the impact one can have. Thanks to the large-scale efforts put forward, they do not only have an impact on the members, but also on the policy-makers and on the public opinion. The lack of large-scale efforts in a great deal of other (local) initiatives is felt to be a shortcoming.

Changes at the methodical level: from identifying to helping with selection: the task of the professional advisor is clearly shifting from contents and theme to the methodical level. Action as learning to select has no need for expertise re: contents and theme, but for learning skills which are related to advising self-learning and self-governing groups. A model for guidance should pay special attention to the problems regarding 'part-time and full-time involvement'. If movement-work doesn't want to lose in the struggle for emotional involvement, then a change in mentality is necessary. Indeed, elements of a direct or participatory type of democracy come into play when dealing with matrix-structures. And that, we feel is, what it is all about for the future of problem-posing workings of movements: offering a broader framework within which members and leaders can go their own way. In this way, we hope to be able to participate in the development of that which Kunneman calls 'normative professionalism' (1996) for movement-work. We have, moreover, tried to substantiate the third way of considering postmodern culture. The oscillating model of healing (Burggraeve and Velle) might thus become a reality after all.

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Class strugglers: Revisiting Rorty and co

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> The *Communist Manifesto* had held that the history of all hitherto existing society was the history of class struggles: freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, and, then, bourgeoisie and proletariat. In this series, however, there was one unspoken regularity: the slaves did not succeed the masters, ….and the journeymen did not triumph over the guildmasters. *The lowliest class never came to power.* Nor did it seem likely to now. (Gouldner, 1979:93)

> Tony Blair wants us all to be middle class…He wants the world to be full of people like him, and frankly I can't imagine a worse place. (Burchill, 1999)

A sense of urgency around the need to address, authoritatively, a research and teaching agenda for adult and continuing education in the wake of both its precarious (inter-disciplinary) and courted (lifelong learning) positions within HE gave rise, at the 1998 SCUTREA conference, to epistemological debates and justifications for various stances being embraced. Those I was party to took a postmodernist stance or reiteration or reconfiguration of some kind of radicalism (did anyone actually utter the words Marx, marxism or marxian or were they just implied?).

There were some attempts to reach into appropriate philosophical discourses and to make these accessible and debatable through illustration from policy and practice in the education of adults. This paper seeks to return to some of the issues raised, to explore them further and in particular to set illustrative examples within an historical frame, 'real' history and the history of ideas, so that they facilitate a critical engagement with the tenor of current government lifelong learning ideology which is set to influence the shapes and spaces made available to adults for learning for the next decade or so.

Rorty's (1992) critique of Eagleton's work on Ideology (1991) forms a starting point for the post-modernist-radical debate. Key themes and issues are drawn from a variety of adult learning contexts and practices from the late 1970s to the 1990s. The paper explores the possible relationship between each 'epistemological stance' and the shapes and spaces made available to adults for learning for the next decade or so. It looks at the current search for moral purpose, from the engendering of solidarity to the need and respect for difference.

Lifelong learning in the current HE context

One of the core issues in the history of the definition and championing of adult education has always been the extent to which it served a democratising role in the quest to create and maintain a more equal and just society. This has at times been equated with and at other times constrasted with its role of preparing adults for the continual adaptations required to become or remain employable. Adult education can be construed as co-opting learners to existing power relations in society, for example through training to service the commercial and economic requirements of private industry or the state. It can be construed as encouraging dominant power relations to be subverted through the development of critical consciousness and co-option to a particular ideological stance. It can be construed as developing the capacity for critical awareness, creativity and innovation regardless of the specific moral or social purposes or objectives of its perpetrators (educators).

The recent trend in higher and school education towards the application of national criteria and formulae in order to arrive at comparable 'standards', together with the expansion of main stream higher education to include a much higher proportion of the population, has provoked the latest version of a crisis of identity, or perhaps crisis of purpose, for many currently engaged in the education and training of adults. The dilemma around the extent to which the knowledge produced, created, gathered or discovered in higher education either can or should be free from the 'shapes' of its funders or directed towards the 'spaces' they occupy, and conversely, the extent to which the beneficiaries of higher education should directly or indirectly pay for it is not a new dilemma. It has been around at least since Humboldt's efforts to establish the notion of academic freedom in 1850 (Simpson, 1983:13), a time when, in the sciences at least, universities were being established as the proper training ground for industrial researchers in Germany.

The traditional inter-disciplinary practices and multi-disciplinary subject bases of adult education within Universities, a concomitant of the mission to increase access through responsiveness to diverse learners, is perceived as its weakness and its strength. The current research assessment exercise has re-enshrined the notion of the cognate discipline. It has done this at an historical moment where it is also being claimed that learning across a range of disciplines is essential for any economically viable adult and socially responsible citizen. In the ensuing 'fight' what is emerging is a predictable hierarchy of a 'new' old-style elite who will be recruited to 'deepen disciplinary knowledge' and a variously privileged, or not, mass of educators and self-directing learners who get to 'learn less about more'.

The justification for this latest notion of binary continuing education for all, from the government's perspective at least, seems to be, on the face of it, an economically functionalist one, barely disguised in the rhetoric of lifelong learning for the individual. Through the process of lifelong learning and the employment this will secure for us we will all gradually become middle class citizens. Within these developments debates continue and practitioners practice, juggling competing discourses in which the purpose of education is variously linked to notions of social progress, a just society, national economic competitiveness, and global ecological sustainability. We borrow from these premises in turn to justify the continued existence or the creation of our favoured educational projects, those to which we have committed ourselves or from which we cannot, for now, escape. So we alternatively privilege individual learning, individual self-interest, communities of learners, communities of interest, the 'rights' of certain communities to self-determination and so on. We define and try to create the learning organisation and the learning society. We witness the establishment of the University for Industry and query or embrace its genesis and remit. We witness or engage in the push towards particular expressions of regionalism in the United Kingdom. In Europe war rages in the former Yugoslavia, where a federal national identity has been unsustainable.

At different moments, I find the current status quo of adult and higher education in these wider contexts inevitable, distasteful, irrelevant, highly relevant, a cause for celebration, reclaimable. These different responses are influenced by the degree to which I personally feel secure, or not, engaged, proactive, enlightened and surprised; by my ability to identify and consort with perceived allies; by my capacity to digest criticism and accommodate challenge. It provokes in me a desire to articulate a purpose and a vision for myself as an adult learner, for adult learners I teach, and in order to reframe my research. It makes me nervous and wary of those who do just that. In order to articulate the spaces and shapes for learners and learning I want to defend and create, I seek a means by which to justify my perspectives and the means by which I can gather collaborators and supports for projects I cannot carry out alone.

Ideology, solidarity and self-interest

The outdated-ness of the notion of ideology was expressed eloquently by Rorty (1989) and was in turn fiercely reclaimed by Eagleton (1991), with an ensuing debate in the Radical Philosophy journal in the early nineties (Nos. 59,60,62). The relevance for me of this debate to the current status quo of lifelong learning is to better understand the emergence of the concept both from within the 'liberationist' tradition, and from the perspective of 'social control by oppressive interests'. To take a simple example, what am I as both educator and learner, doing education and learning for? As a learner am I on a punitive treadmill attempting to keep abreast of all the new developments around me, doomed ultimately to fail unless I keep up just well enough to secure patronage and resources? Or am I hugely fortunate to live in an era where everyone expects me to gain access to lifelong learning opportunities? As an educator, am I part of the oppressive 'class', acting out society's demands for an up to the mark work force? Or am I helping others acquire the means by which they can continue to grow, develop, understand, enjoy, make choices, make contributions they relish and can be proud of? Am I all of these things at the same time or at different moments?

The difference between Rorty's and Eagleton's perspectives is for me about the relationship between moral purpose and knowledge. Eagleton denies that ideology can only be conceived of if it is also held that there is some form of absolute truth wherein the language with which that ideology is articulated then becomes a representation. For Rorty, there is significant a change in emphasis. The process of education and learning will never result in a true and proper understanding of how, for example, people are or how society is. As history unfolds we do not get nearer to some ideal or even better state. In other words we can progress backwards as well as forwards.

> The question or focus changes, therefore, from being concerned with moral progress as a journey from distorted to undistorted perceptions of reality, to a continuous process of 'modifying our practices to take account of new descriptions of what has been going on.' By dropping a representationalist account of knowledge, we pragmatists drop the appearance-reality distinction in favour of a distinction between beliefs which serve some purposes and beliefs which serve other purposes – for example, the purposes of one group and those of another group. (Rorty, 1991:4)

One can accommodate Eagleton's view most easily if one agrees that ideology is still a political force because proponents of particular ideologies believe in absolute truths. It is hard, otherwise, to understand how any peoples, at one time living peacefully side by side, can commit atrocities to neighbours they once went shopping with. I certainly want to believe that perceived self/group interest can only stray so badly when held together with a collectivised vision of an absolute truth, and when that combination of perspectives is manipulated by unchallenged leaders in times of threat. To hold this view I don't have to believe in absolute truths myself (though of course I may do) and neither does Eagleton.

> The belief that a minority of theorists monopolise a scientifically grounded knowledge of how society is, while the rest of us blunder around in some fog of false consciousness, does not particularly endear itself to the democratic sensibility. A novel version of this elitism has arisen in the work of Richard Rorty, in whose ideal society the intellectuals will be 'ironists', practising a suitably cavalier, laid-back attitude to their own beliefs, while the masses, for whom such self-ironising might prove too subversive a weapon, will continue to salute the flag and take life seriously.

Different epistemologies, different times?

In times of peace and general well being I may or may not bother to challenge ideological perspectives I disagree with, even where I disagree fundamentally. These are times when there seems to be 'space' for all manner of 'shapes'. But in times of conflict the space of certain individual or groups is encroached upon. The shapes which 'fit' are those which do not are dictated by dominant voices. In these times I may want to virulently oppose a particular ideology, especially when its effects on human behaviour are to my mind disagreeable or when I fear it may lead to inhuman consequences. The temptation, where time and the opportunity to negotiate are in short supply is to devise or adhere to a countervailing ideology, predicated on an equally weighty but opposing 'absolute truth'. Indeed many day to day conversational arguments between people do just this. It is often a kind of short hand rather than a definite indicator of a representationalist stance.(Hegel's concept of the dialectic offers a view of how we 'think and talk' this, whereas Marx' notion of dialectical materialism attempts to embed the process in the 'real' history of society).

The question for me as an educator of others comes at the point where I chose, if indeed I do chose, to weave my own views and perspectives (and my ideology?) in to my teaching. Can I do otherwise? How then do I 'educate' others to think critically, including critically of me and my ideas. In the mid-70s I was involved in three different kinds of adult education within the health service in South London. In all of these endeavours I was also faced with issues of individual and collective expression of identity and interest.
The first was the management of classes from the LEA in the geriatric and psychogeriatric wards of a local hospital branch of a large teaching hospital, in South London. These classes, mostly in arts, crafts and music offered opportunities for individual expression. This was of some benefit to the individual but did not have much of an impact on his or her perceived 'shape' as a hospital patient, devoid of much personal power and most outward signs of individual identity. The second was a reminiscence project in the same hospital involving all levels of staff from cleaners to consultants. This was construed as a collaborative venture involving many patients and a cross section of staff from cleaners to consultants. Patients became the subjects of the oral history of the local community, and increasingly objects of interest to the staff involved. The third was the training of shop stewards in a period within which I was a union representative during Callaghan's 'winter of discontent'. The educational purpose here was to prepare stewards to take up more 'space' in discussions with the hospital management about the utilisation of scare resources and the deployment of their fellow workers. A sense of class solidarity became very tangible when the threatened closure of a sister hospital led to the formation of a joint shop stewards committee.

Looking back, I am aware of the strong ideological influences upon me as I planned and collaborated with others around these activities. I am also aware of the unexpected learning I encountered and how, subtly, my ideological stance was not so much undermined as held to one side, my view widened, with increasingly complex and at the time, uncategorisable experiences. This led me to conclude at the time that I should hold on to my beliefs and values rather more loosely, for fear that if I did not, I would be missing out on some important insights I might otherwise have not made room for. This did not involve a total jettisoning of those beliefs and values, but rather a widening of the mental 'screen space' in which they featured.

One of the insights gained during this time was that there was a significant difference in educating people for the process of claiming their due share of power, and educating them to use power 'well' when they have it. When Eagleton said:

> Are socialism and feminism ideologies, and if not why not? Are they non-ideological when in political opposition but ideological when? When they come to power?' (Eagleton, 1991:6)

He was expecting us to agree that this could not be the case because it was illogical. But my answer would be that it is a perfectly plausible view. The 'right' to power neither gives people guidance how to use it once achieved nor does it dictate how it is used. The process of acquiring power once withheld changes people's perceptions of all kinds of things including of course themselves. In democracies, so-called feminists or socialists who are seen as achieving power either do this as representatives of others who are still not powerful, or as tokens. The mass of others whose position has not changed can be in an even worse position than before because there has been the appearance of much change when only a little has taken place. For examples one has only to look at speed with which New Labour jettisoned the socialist tag in the late 90s.

It therefore strikes me that Rorty's view that ideology is dead (if that is indeed what he claimed; Eagleton seems to think he did) deserves equally serious consideration for its benefits and disadvantages as an epistemology. He suggests we have moved on to a different way of understanding of how we arrive at collective solidarity, when we do, through the tentative contingency of negotiated me and occasionally patronising stance, but that does not make it any more or less valid.

> With luck, we happy few, the good and enlightened vanguard, will mould those subordinated groups into an instrument for the purposes we think they ought to have" (Rorty, 1991:42)

I can only gauge the extent to which it illuminates areas of 'darkness' for me in my understandings of how people learn, how we teach and above all, why we do both of these things.

In the late 80s and early 90s I was involved in the piloting of the first versions of National Vocational Qualifications in Social Care in a Social Services Department in the north of England. The potential candidates were home helps and residential care assistants working with older people. There were strenuous 'ideological' objections to NVQs from some quarters and strong interest in their support from others including the manual workers trade unions. The latter were keen on the grounds that this was the only opportunity many of their members would get for the formal recognition of workplace learning. My own resistance to this 'functionalist' approach to learning was therefore softened by my realisation that the antagonism expressed by those of us with plenty of academic qualifications to our name and in middle class professions, was experienced as an elitist 'put down' by colleagues doing some of the toughest and least well paid work in the department.

As part of the piloting process we presented a series of choices to senior management which were to inform local training policy. The presentation involved a serious discussion of the notion of the competent workplace as the context within which NVQ candidates were to be assessed. How could a candidate, for example, demonstrate offering a choice of menu when the food budget per head per day in an old people's home was one pound? It also involved senior managers feeding each other jelly in a role play devised to explore the extent to which we could train line managers to assess for ethical, compassionate and ethnically respectful behaviours. Somewhat removed from their own basic social work training and practice, they didn't like this very much.

In doing this we were engaging in a consciousness raising exercise, attempting to make transparent hitherto hidden ideological presuppositions, including, to be fair, our own. We were also in danger of not being taken very seriously if we over stepped the mark too radically. Our caveats would be dismissed and NVQs would go ahead regardless. If we wanted to make an impact, and not just a noise, we had to compromise. We also had to confront the possibility that our objections might be less important than we wanted to think, that the unions had a valid point.

I suspect that I will never ultimately 'know' whether the widening of my 'mental screen' through these deliberations is a necessary stage in a journey to a more sophisticated truth, ideology or set of beliefs, or whether, as the postmodernists and pragmatists would have us believe, the journey is all there is.

As a learner and educator, I now see my task as enabling those I engage with to comprehend and articulate for themselves, and through their own experiences, both of these possibilities, and leave room for others still.

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Continental drift: spaces and flows in research in the education of adults

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> A conceptual shift, 'tectonic' in its implications, has taken place. We ground things, now, on a moving earth. There is no longer any place of overview (mountaintop) from which to map human ways of life ... Mountains are in constant motion. So are islands: for one cannot occupy, unambiguously, a bounded cultural world from which to journey out and analyse other cultures ... Cultural analysis is always enmeshed in global movements of difference and power. (Clifford 1986: 22)

Locating ourselves in our topic

Our interest in examining the topic of this paper arises from our own personal and professional experiences. In the course of our work as academics we increasingly define ourselves in relation to global communities. We travel regularly to different continents for research purposes, we communicate often across the planet through e-mail and we draw upon global resources through the Internet. Our own connections with one another as collaborators and friends emerged from being members of a SCUTREA delegation to a conference of the Canadian Association for Studies in Adult Education (CASAE) in Saskatoon in 1992. Sometimes it seems that we find more opportunities to interact on a face-to-face basis with British colleagues at conferences outside the UK than we do at home.

Our professional relationships which span the globe intersect with personal relationships with significant others on distant continents; the relative ease of travel by air and via cyberspace and the resulting space-time compression make it feasible for intimacy to be sustained over considerable geographical distances. Our personal connections in other parts of the world strengthen our motivation for long-distance travel in the course of leisure and tourism. But although our connections are global, they are not spread evenly. There are certain vectors to our travels and communications: what Massey (1994) refers to as power-geometries. Australasia and North America figure more significantly in our own maps than do Asia or Africa, although our Christmas card lists span all five continents. Within continents we home in on particular focal points; for example, Sydney is for both of us the primary contact point in Australasia. And for all the flows around us and of which we are part, the UK in Europe remains our primary point of reference, even though we view its boundaries as fluid.

Our personal contexts and experience provide embarkation points for this exploration of the migration of people and texts across the terrain of adult education research. At this point we should say that we are poles apart in our orientations towards the subject matter of geography: One of us considered a degree course in geography before opting for philosophy, while the other is hardly literate in this field, having abandoned the subject before 'O' level. But we both draw frequently on metaphors of space and place in the course of grounding our social scientific endeavours.

Navigating through debates about globalisation

Recent special editions of both *Comparative Education* (1998) and the *Journal of Education Policy* (1999) have focused on the themes of globalisation and educational policy. This reflects and contributes to the growing literature on globalisation and education. Attention has been given to policy development, the impact of globalisation on specific sectors of education (Currie and Newson 1998), global curriculum issues (Gough 1998) and forms of education, such as open and distance learning, which disseminate curricula and pedagogies around the world (Mason 1998). Comparatively little attention has yet been given to the education of adults, although Walters (1997) offers some examples of popular educational responses to globalising practices. For the purposes of this paper, we view globalisation as 'the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole' (Robertson 1992: 8), or, as Waters suggests,'a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding'(1995: 3).

Our concern in this paper is with the implications of globalisation for patterns in research in the education of adults. We are interested in the extent to which there is a single, global knowledge base for study in this area, and the extent to which there are distinctive national and/or supranational research arenas which are used to constitute different research cultures. We are also concerned to examine how far research in one part of the world becomes part of the research culture elsewhere. These questions lead us to consider whether research in the education of adults is one or many spaces and to wonder what shape the space(s) might be. We are also interested in the processes through which research outcomes might move from local to global significance, in the practices which contribute to the flow of research from one domain to another and in the channels through which research drifts from one continent to another, or indeed travels within continents. In this paper we set off on a pilot voyage, as we attempt some preliminary mapping of the spaces and flows in research in the education of adults.

The paper is in four parts. First, we outline some of the practices by which research might be said to be caught up in globalising tendencies. Second, we outline the methodology we have used to explore the extent of globalising practices through a content analysis of four English-language journals of research in the education of adults and two international adult education conferences. The findings are outlined in the third part of the paper, in which we begin to map the spaces and flows within which research is performed and the movements of people and texts which contribute to globalisation. Continental drift is not of course a one-way process; as a continent drifts towards another on its tectonic plate, it drifts away from others. Moreover, continents are not firmly bounded, as they are eroded by the sea, added to by volcanoes and increased in mass by new land formations over time. We are ourselves inevitably caught up in the movements we are describing; as Clifford (1986) points out in the passage quoted at the beginning of this paper, it is no longer possible to find a motionless vantage point. The final section sketches the implications of our discussion for the globalisation of research and knowledge in the education of adults.

Tracing globalising policies

Many contributors to debates about globalisation focus on its impact on education policies and practices, and particularly on the ways in which economic globalisation is used as a rationale for educational reform and renewal. It is argued that the 'smallness' of the globe results in increased national and regional competitiveness, central to which are the skills of the workforce. There is also debate about whether globalisation brings about a single uniform space or whether it intensifies practices of hybridisation and difference, as in the cultural mixing of different musical styles, forms of dress and foods. Some writers argue that the continuing significant role of the nation-state denies the globalisation thesis (Green 1997). Others see globalisation as an intensification of relationships within the globe, engendering complex patterns of homogeneity and heterogeneity, and they examine phenomena including nationalism as aspects of globalisation (Edwards and Usher 1999). Ball argues that:

> national policy-making is inevitably a process of bricolage: a matter of borrowing and copying bits and pieces of ideas from elsewhere, drawing upon and amending locally tried and tested approaches, cannibalising theories, research, trends and fashions and not infrequently flailing around for anything at all that looks as though it might work. (1998: 126)

Thus generic policies are polyvalent; as Ball suggests, 'they are translated into particular interactive and sustainable practices in complex ways' (1998: 127). As with policy within nation-states, there can be numerous strands in tension with each other. In relation to research and knowledge, it might be argued that globalising practices do not engender uniformity, but rather intensify the recognition of the impossibility of such uniformity, even as they promote the wider circulation of people, goods, services and ideas around the globe.

Some writers have tried to outline the mechanisms through which globalisation takes place, employing metaphors such as 'migration' and 'forging' to examine the movements of policy ideas around the globe and their transformation from one setting to another (Edwards and Tait 1999). Dale (1999) provides a helpful typology of the practices of migration through which policy is globalised. He contrasts these practices — harmonisation, dissemination, standardisation, installing interdependence and imposition — with more conventional notions of policy borrowing and policy learning. Levin (1998) suggests that there is little systematic learning in the processes of national policy borrowing and that it may be largely symbolic. He suggests the notion of the 'policy epidemic' to assist in understanding these practices:

> New agents of disease tend to spread rapidly as they find the hosts that are least resistant. So it is with policy change in education — new ideas move around quite quickly, but their adoption may depend on the need any given government sees itself having. Although many people may be infected with a given disease, the severity can vary greatly. (Levin 1998: 139)

The spread of these diseases may be through a variety of direct and indirect means. The direct means can be through the circulation of ideas based on the movement of individuals among and between networks. Politicians, policy advisers and members of 'think tanks' and campaigning groups, such as Greenpeace, travel around the globe spreading their particular messages. The same is true for many academics, employers and managers. Conferences are organised to develop and promote themes and policy options. Members of international organisations such as UNESCO, the European Union, the OECD and the World Bank also exercise an influence. For instance, as an OECD document says:

> ministers reaffirm the value of international co-operation and the exchange of information and comparative country experiences in developing national policies — especially in light of the widening reach of information technologies and the gathering momentum of globalisation. (OECD 1996)

The indirect means by which policy epidemics spread may be the reports, books and websites produced and circulated by individuals and organisations; extracts from these texts may be further disseminated through the media of mass communications and conference papers such as the present text may also contribute to the spread of infection.

Mapping globalising practices

In order to explore globalisation in adult education research, we have drawn upon data from four journals and two conferences.

The 1998 volumes of *Adult Education Quarterly* (AEQ), the *International Journal of Lifelong Education* (IJLE), *Studies in Continuing Education* (SCE) and *Studies in the Education of Adults* (SEA) were chosen as they are the leading English-language journals which publish research in the education of adults. They are published on different continents: AEQ in America, SCE in Australasia and IJLE and SEA in Europe. We carried out initial content analysis of each journal. Articles in the journals were coded according to the continent of origin of the author(s). The institutional affiliations of authors were used to locate them, although we were aware that some were based in continents to which they had moved from elsewhere in the world. We also coded the bibliographical references in each article according to their continents of origin.

The Proceedings of the 1998 Adult Education Research Conference (AERC) and of the 1998 SCUTREA conference were chosen as two of the leading annual English-language research conferences in the education of adults. We coded papers published in these proceedings according to the continents of origin of the authors on the same basis as those in the journals. The analysis we draw from these data is indicative rather than conclusive; in this paper we are attempting to frame our ideas and approaches in order to use them as the basis for a more sustained study in the future.

Outlining the spaces and flows of journals and conferences

Each of the four journals which we analysed claims to be international in scope. This aspiration is in itself is problematic given that each of these journals is published in English. There is an assumption about language practices which tends to exclude those who research in and through languages other than English.

The four journals vary significantly in their frequency of publication; in 1998 the IJLE published six editions, the AEQ four, and the SCE and SEA two each. This accounts in part for the variation in the number of authors represented in the journals in the volumes analysed. As Table 1 shows, the journals exhibited significant differences in terms of the continental origins of contributors.

Table 1 Journals: authors by continent of origin (1998)

		AEQ		IJLE		SCE		SEA
Europe		3		10		6		8
Australasia		0		6		2		5
America		13		9		4		1
Africa		0		5		3		0
Asia		0		1		0		0
Total		16		31		15		14

These data suggest that journals tend to draw contributions from the continents in which they are published. This pattern is most marked in the case of the AEQ. Within continents the spread of contributions is strictly limited; contributors classified as American come for the most part from the USA, and Latin America is not represented at all in any of the journals. SEA also draws on a limited space within the world for its content; during 1998 all the contributors classified as European were from the UK or Ireland. The IJLE and SCE would seem to have the strongest claims to global reach in terms of their contributors. However, the results for SCE may be skewed by a special edition in 1998 which was co-edited by academics in Southern Africa and for which contributions on a specific topic had been invited from around the globe. Although the journals analysed are international in aspiration, it seems that their coverage of the globe in terms of contributors is limited. It also appears that the location of each journal's editorial control is significant in determining the geographical origin of articles appearing in that journal.

Our analysis of AERC and SCUTREA conference proceedings confirms the pattern of contributors tending to be drawn from close to home. Table 2 illustrates how authors of papers are based for the most part on the continents in which the conferences take place.

Table 2 Conference proceedings: authors by continent of origin (1998)

		SCUTREA		AERC
Europe		34		7
Australasia		6		3
America		0		84
Africa		2		0
Asia		0		0

Further analysis shows a marked tendency towards national specificity, with 69 of the 84 AERC authors classified as American being based in the USA, and 33 of the 34 European contributors to the SCUTREA proceedings being based in the UK. The pattern of limited drift within continents is also reinforced in these data; for example, the American contributors to the AERC proceedings who come from outside the USA are all from Canada, and thirteen out of fifteen of them are from the same university.

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We also attempted some preliminary analysis of bibliographical references cited in the journal articles and conference papers. We coded the lists of references used in order to examine the relationship between the continents on which authors were based and the geographical origin of their references. This enabled us to form an impression of the extent of flows of ideas in adult education research across the globe

In the case of the AEQ, published in the USA, the indication is that American contributors draw overwhelmingly upon North American research with only occasional references to European or Australasian research. This indicates the limited flow of research into America, which is reinforced by the AEQ's pattern of publishing work mainly of North American origin. By contrast the European contributors to the AEQ, who come primarily from Northern Europe, draw upon a range of literatures from Europe and America. This is true both for authors whose first language is English and for those for whom it is not. The pattern of referencing by European contributors suggests a research space that is open to flows, although the movement is primarily transatlantic.

In the case of the IJLE, the contributions from Europe and Australasia draw in varying degrees from research in those continents and in America, with the preponderance of these latter references coming from North America. There is little use of non-English European research by English-speaking European and Australasian authors. English-speaking Europe and North America remain the main sources of cited research, but there is some evidence of continental drift. American and African authors draw mostly from their own continents, although some African scholars make reference to American research. It should be noted also that the African research cited comes primarily from English-speaking African countries. Once again, the flow of research into America seems limited.

In SCE, given the global set of contributors, it is perhaps not surprising that there is a greater diversity in the research upon which authors have drawn. In this respect SCE might be seen as the most open space for adult education research. However, there are significant distinctions between contributions. Each continental groups contributions tends to draw mostly, although not solely, from its own location. Only those from Africa draw upon African research. The non-English-speaking European contributors make no reference to Australasian research, and English-speaking contributors draw hardly at all on the non-English-speaking European research. Thus, while in general the journal appears significantly global, analysis of specific articles reveals the differential flows of research between and within continents.

The SEA exhibits a similar pattern to that of SCE. However, the spread of references is perhaps slightly narrower with contributors from English-speaking Europe and America drawing almost exclusively from their own continents. It is the Australasian contributors who draw most extensively on wider ranges of research; without the contribution of these Antipodean explorers, the flow of research would tend to be primarily transatlantic.

The pattern of referencing in conference papers parallels the direction of flows of research demonstrated in the journals. It seems that the closer the contributor to the country where the conference takes place, the weaker the tendency to draw on research from other countries. So, for example, contributors to the AERC who are based in the USA make almost exclusive reference to research originating in that country; Canadian contributors cite a combination of Canadian and US literature; contributors from the UK draw on Canadian and US sources as well as those closer to home; and Australians are the most catholic in their referencing.

Plotting a course for future explorations

This analysis suggests a complex configuration in the flows and spaces of research in the education of adults and indicates that the global pattern is far from uniform. Some research spaces seem to be more open than others. In this paper we have tried to open a space in which to examine the knowledge bases of research in this field and the mechanisms through which ideas migrate.

Our analysis could be taken much further. We should like to examine a wider range of journals and conference proceedings, including non-English-language publications, over a longer period, and to examine their circulation patterns in order to evaluate the extent of their cross-continental readerships.

It would also be useful to develop the exploration of patterns of referencing in order to get a sense of which texts from which continents are most significant in shaping research in the field. Another trend which we might examine relates to the migratory patterns amongst researchers. We might also look at the possibility that some research topics are more global than others. We believe there is a tale which travels here and also the possibility for many travellers' tales. We expect to contribute further to these sagas in the course of our future research and travelling.

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Theorising space/the space of theory: mappings in the education of adults

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The theme of this conference aptly reflects the significant growth in interest in questions of space in recent years. Space is, as it were, 'back on the map' - increasingly recognised as making a difference in theory, culture and politics. This is evidenced on a number of fronts. First, in the ongoing debates about the existence, nature and significance of globalisation and the compression of space-time with which these are associated. Second, there is the importance given to questions of space in social theory and emerging forms of cultural geography. Third, there is the use of spatial metaphors in the exploration of cultural and pedagogic practices. While the first is debated in many forms and fora, the last two are more to be found in debates emerging in and from post-structuralism, postmodernism, post-colonialism and feminism.

Spatial metaphors, including that of globalisation, are proving fruitful in interdisciplinary enquiry into emergent identities and social practices. Indeed the attempts to chart this is often framed through a spatial metaphor as a process of mapping. The importance of space and its associated notions of positionality and place both reflect and contribute to many attempts to understand contemporary conditions characterised by flexible accumulation, more decentred political and economic organisational forms and the suppression of distance and national boundaries by the various media. As Yoshimoto (1996: 107) puts it, 'while national boundaries are increasingly blurred in the new global formation, transnational capitalism has paradoxically given rise to an increasing obsession with place'.

This growing importance given to questions of space inevitably opens up a space of its own in the sense of how it is to be best understood, the assumptions underpinning differing conceptions of space and their implications for interpreting wider social, economic and cultural practices. It is to such questions that this paper is addressed since in making a space in which to discuss the spaces of the education of adults, we need also to consider the nature of that space.

A full mapping of the notions of space at play is not possible within the context of the limited space of a conference paper. We offer, therefore, a few glimpses of the theorisations of space at play. This is derived from a wider study in which we are involved (Edwards and Usher 1999, forthcoming). In the process we are ourselves making a space for the practice of theorising which we consider to be a core component of scholarly work. Having mapped some of the theories of space, we will explore their implications for the education of adults, and in particular, the spaces opened/closed by emerging discourses of lifelong learning.

Re-thinking space

Giddens (1990) argues that with the wide availability of the mechanical clock at the end of the eighteenth century a separation of time and space took place. This eventually resulted in a global spread of a specific ordering of 'time' as a universal phenomenon. It was crucial to modernity and resulted in a particular set of possibilities associated with the advance of capitalism and colonialism in which history (time) was asserted over and played out on the inert body of geography (space) (Massey 1993; Blunt and Rose 1994). In this separation, one which is still powerful, 'geography is an inert, fixed, isotropic back drop to the real stuff of politics and history' (Pile 1997: 4). It is '"time" is equated with movement and progress, "space/place" is equated with stasis and reaction' (Massey, 1994: 151). Thus, 'it is no coincidence that communities of resistance are termed movements in much political struggle' (Pile 1997: 29).

This separation is crucial in modernity's understanding of its own development, with the assertion of the temporal and historical over the spatial and geographical. It is the challenge to this separation which has been witnessed in more recent times. Here space and time are understood in terms of the different ordering of space-time historically and geographically. The ordering of time is, therefore, also and always an organisation of space and vica versa. It is unsurprising, therefore, that the contemporary period has seen the emergence of new forms of geography and the development of a sociology and politics of space and location to both undermine and counteract the dominance of the temporal and historical and their production of linear and singular narratives (Mohanty 1992; Pile 1997). In the process, the very notion of space-time has been reconfigured with attempts to re-position understanding and practice in different spaces - margins (Spivak, 1993), interstitial third space (Bhabha, 1994), diaspora space (Brah, 1996) and the nomad (Braidotti 1994). This in itself challenges any notion of space as an inert background or context, bounded and secure. Shields argues that spatial zones are

> socio-political constructions ideologically coded into cartographic conventions and reified in socio-cognitive mappings of the world... these serve to exemplify the extent to which we live within the territorialising and boundary-drawing impulse of the imaginary geography of the nation-state... Representation of space such as national air space and 200-mile limit inform and delimit our practical interventions in these spaces (1997: 194).

Thus space and place do not exist outside the spatialising practices of imaginary geographies and political moves.

In relation to the restructuring of space-time in contemporary capitalism, Soja (1989) suggests that the latter does not simply displace previous conditions but rather overlays them. This undermines established patterns of uneven development and produces new centres of urbanisation, but does not completely replace what existed previously. Here we would suggest that 'globalisation' and 'postmodernity' do not signify completely new spaces, but rather the attempt to conceptualise the complex, layered and hybrid nature of contemporary space - 'the intersectionality of diaspora, border, and dis/location as a point of confluence of economic, political, cultural and psychic processes' (Brah 1996: 208).

This suggests space is constructed and relational, traversed by multiple forces, constantly struggling to be open/closed in specific ways. It is from this perspective that Waters (1995) argues that claims for globalisation rest on a relationship between social organisation and territoriality and that this link is established through the forms of exchanges which predominate in any one period. Central to contemporary globalisation is the dominance of symbolic exchange over material and political exchange and the extent to which the latter two themselves become subject to culturalisation. For Waters a globalised culture

> is chaotic rather than orderly - it is integrated and connected so that the meanings of its components are "relativised" to one another but it is not unified or centralised... [it] admits a flow of ideas, information, commitment, values and taste mediated through mobile individuals, symbolic tokens and electronic simulations (1995: 125-126).

The material and political therefore are to be understood increasingly as mediated by the symbolic and cultural.

What this points to is the need conceptualise contemporary space in terms of hybridity. Diverse others and other cultures cannot any longer be subsumed within a single universal narrative of modernity. Nor can they be seen as entirely separate, bounded or distinct. From this emerges a politics of location:

> as locationality in contradiction - that is a positionality of dispersal; of simultaneous situatedness within gendered spaces of class, racism, ethnicity, sexuality, age; of movement across shifting cultural, religious and linguistic boundaries; of journeys across geographical and psychic borders. (Brah 1996: 204)

Hybridity rather than homogeneity and the relational rather than the bounded characterise space. Within this, 'the significance of new hybrid and syncretic identities shows the potential for crossover identities which destabilise old... absolutisms' (Rattansi, 1995: 280). Globalisation, space-time compression and responses to it therefore present us with a number of contradictory positions which foreground the importance of location and locating practices. Its politics, like everything else are not uni-directional as

> different social groups, and different individuals belonging to numbers of social groups, are located in many different ways in the new organisation of relations over time-space. (Massey 1994: 164)

What, therefore, are some of the further consequences of this notion of space for identity? If the contemporary condition is increasingly one of de-territorialisation, mobility, and disembedding, what can be understood by place? In what sense, if at all, can globalisation be defined as a state of 'homelessness', unbounded and in flux where a sense of place, meaning and identity become insecure or no longer exist at all? These are big questions, partly arising from a set of traditional assumptions as to relationship between place, meaning and identity, wherein a relative stability in the former results in relative stability in the latter. It is on the basis of such notions that much value is invested in ideas of face-to-face communities which cover the conflicts, oppressions and limitations of bounded places wherein 'community' might be read metaphorically as a modern disciplinary institutions such as the prison, hospital or even school (Foucault 1979).

This notion of space surfaces the difficulty of finding a bounded place called 'home' in contemporary conditions. That is not to say that no such place exists, but rather its bounded nature is challenged. Rather than being homeless therefore, it might be more appropriate to reconsider the meaning of home and the possibilities provided when the home is for instance, networked to the globe through telephone, television, the Internet, global warming, diverse products and services, etc. The stable identities of bounded place may need to be reconfigured in terms of what Brah (1996: 196) refers to as 'diasporic identities [which] are at once local and global... networks of transnational identifications encompassing "imagined" and "encountered" communities '. Part of this for Brah (1996: 180) is to provide a space that takes 'account of a homing desire which is not the same thing as desire for a "homeland"'.

This is not deny the strength of the assumptions which underpin and structure much of the debate about space, place and identity. In simple terms, we can see certain binaries at work which value a view of space based on bounded place, the local and with that a stable and bounded identity. In many ways this is a particular view of a traditional society that was disrupted by the modernising process of industrialisation, urbanisation and capitalism and which produced discourses of alienation, isolation and anomie. In itself this tends to ignore the fact that 'boundedness has not for centuries really been characteristic of local places' (Massey 1994: 170). For some, the contemporary period is signified in the renewed interests in the regional, historical and local in response to the perceived efficiency, functionalism and impersonality of modernism, something particularly noticeable in architecture (Robins 1993). This results in a reworked 'traditional' reassertion of the link between place and identity, an expression of the homing desire.

An important distinction here is between those who assert movement in a radicalised modern form which denies space and those who emphasis movement as a spatialisation of identity and the political (Mohanty 1992; Blunt and Rose 1994). This has been central to much feminist and postcolonial analysis which attempts to theorise new possibilities and identities in the cause of remaking the globe more equitably. Here metaphors of movement are deployed to destablise the centres of power and provide for new power geometries through different mapping practices. 'Travelling' has a political as well as metaphorical role - 'nomadism consists not so much in being homeless, as in being capable of recreating your home everywhere' (Braidotti 1994: 16). While such metaphors are suggestive, engendering as they do a 'landscape of movement and mobility by those for whom movement and mobility are unproblematic' (Pile and Thrift 1995: 24), the focus on movements and flows can result in place and the local appearing to be annihilated completely. Thus it might be better to imagine aspects of the traditional, modern and postmodern overlapping and overlaying and enfolding each other in different ways in different places.

Here identity cannot be reduced to a single characteristic, metaphor or signifier as there may be many actual conditions in which the forms of associating may be more binding than bounding in globalised conditions. As Robins (1993: 312) argues, 'if there is now a revival of interest in community and sense of place, this can only be seen in the context of what is in fact increasing fragmentation of urban [and much non-urban] life'. Here,

> instead of thinking of places as areas with boundaries around, they can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings, but where a large proportion of those relations, experiences and understandings are constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself, whether that be the street, or a region or even a continent. (Massey 1994: 154).

In other words, spaces are not bounded and uniform, but rather are relational, their opening and closures constituted through ongoing and emergent practices.

The space of lifelong learning

The above analysis is suggestive for the education of adults on a number of fronts. At the level of policy, we can examine the migrations through which national and local policies are constituted (Edwards and Tait 1999). In thinking about certain institutional structures of provision, rather than locate them in an inert context, we would want to explore the dynamics through which they are constituted. Similarly, for classroom or community practices. We might also want to bring to the fore mapping as pedagogy (Edwards 1998) and learning as belonging to overlapping communities of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991), with implications for teaching and learning. In effect we are suggesting that the reconceptualising of space can find many manifestations in the education of adults, including of course, the desire for homing and maybe at times a homeland!

We cannot explore all such possibilities here. In general, we would wish to point to the displacements at work in the 'field' of the education of adults, operationalised through current discourses of lifelong learning. The latter both open new spaces through the identification of learning in many different spaces, but in their particular foci also involve attempts at closure. Here opening/closing is not a polarity but a necessarily entail each other.

In some ways, lifelong learning more readily provides a space to study the full diversity of learning and examine the inter-relationships between them. However, this unsettles the pre-existing object of knowledge/reference, the education of adults. This is likely to increase if, as seems likely, the arena of lifelong learning expands. Can lifelong learning be subsumed into the education of adults, or is the latter a part of the former? What is the community of practice to which and of which the object of knowledge/reference - the education of adults - speaks? In embracing increased diversity, in what senses is the community of practice - imagined or real - shattered? In this sense, communities of practice are not bounded or stable, but contingent networks in flux in space and time. The point of tension is when contingency moves beyond inter-relatedness to fragmentation. As it moves from the education of adults to lifelong learning, the increased diversity within the object of knowledge/reference needs nonetheless to have a relatedness if it is to be meaningful.

Alongside and inter-related to the question of what is to be studied is the question of how it is to be studied? The study of the education of adults has never been a discipline in the conventional sense.

However, colleagues operating within disciplines have and do study the education of adults. More usually though, studies in this arena take multi-disciplinary, inter-disciplinary or cross-disciplinary approaches. The object of knowledge/reference is constituted, therefore, through a great diversity of research practices with different literatures and methodologies. The study is diverse as well as that which is studied, again raising questions about the nature of the community of practice.

There is also the question of knowledge production and producers. As the object of knowledge/reference and ways of researching it multiply and diversify, so there have been increasingly more people conducting research in this arena within and outwith higher education. Indeed, in the UK those who have traditionally studied the education of adults are becoming a somewhat smaller group among the much larger communities of practice in lifelong learning.

What this suggests is that lifelong learning is itself reflexively a space constituted through the practices of the contemporary moment and traversed by multiple significations - a flexible yet troubling space, a space whose boundedness is ambiguous and that troubles the boundaries of the education of adults. Mapping lifelong learning is itself an endless process of ongoing signification where a final and definitive representation is never achieved.

The space that makes a difference

As Peters (1996: 93) points out, 'modern educational theory has all but ignored questions of space, of geography, of architecture'. We have argued that with globalising processes this is now a contentious position. Spatialising metaphors, both an outcome of these processes and themselves contributors to globalised awareness and reconceptualisations, have assumed an increasingly significant currency in educational discourse.

These metaphors provide the 'space' wherein dimensions such as relationality, virtuality and reflexivity can be articulated and emphasised. In educational terms, this enables a questioning, and the possibility of a reconfiguring, of the hitherto stable boundaries between formal/ informal, teacher/ student, classroom/ home, print text/ electronic text. In functioning as binaries structuring discursive practices of curriculum and pedagogy, these boundaries and their accompanying hierarchies have played a crucial role in defining the educational 'spaces of enclosure' of the canonical book, the fixed curriculum and the face-to-face classroom. The naming and theorisation of 'space' has perhaps paradoxically contributed to a questioning of the validity of these spaces - and perhaps nowhere more so than in the new spaces of lifelong learning.

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Skills and employability in the limelight: exploring official discourses of training

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Introduction

Unemployment has been a core issue for government training policies since the 1970s. And as European governments have identified new economic and social challenges from globalisation and technological change, so they have increasingly reviewed and restructured their training policies. Across the European Union, training measures have been increasingly geared towards improving employability rather than solely inculcating job-specific skills, in response to the perceived needs of the labour market for flexible and trainable employees; and increasingly training measures have become part of a wider battery of measures aimed at reforming welfare systems, with the goal of replacing so-called 'passive' support (which are deemed to foster a dependency culture) with 'active' measures to promote autonomy and income-earning (Rosanvallon 1995; European Commission 1998).

Active labour market policies may be a political necessity. They help governments reconcile two divergent imperatives: most modern European political parties share a commitment to neo-liberal economic policies, yet also stress social inclusion. An emphasis upon active supply side measures provides an attractive middle route. Current social and economic trends have also made it more important for governments to win popular acceptance for their welfare policies. As Ulrich Beck points out, unskilled and low-waged labour has lost much of its economic importance in western societies, while changing social values have eroded the sense of obligation towards the poor among the affluent majority (Beck 1997, 166-7). Bauman even argues that in a post-scarcity society, the new poor are the poor of the non-consumers, who

> are not needed and so they are not wanted. And because they are unwanted, they can be, without much regret or compunction, forsaken (Bauman 1998, 91).

For social democratic regimes of the centre left, then, active labour market policies offer an attractive package. However, in a context of diminishing social solidarity, this requires active strategies of winning popular consent through modern media management techniques.

This paper analyses media management with respect to the New Deal in Britain. The New Deal is among the Labour government's leading flagship initiatives. Announced within hours of the election and launched in April 1998, its stated aim is to help clients in the target groups - notably the young unemployed, the long-term unemployed, lone parents and the long-term sick - to find work and then remain in employment. It has been developed and presented as part of a wider welfare-to-work package, running alongside related supply-side measures such as benefits reform and increased labour flexibility (but not, so far, demand-side initiatives to increase the number of jobs). It therefore combines labour market measures with welfare reform. In this, the New Deal stands in the mainstream of contemporary European policies.

How has New Deal been packaged for the public sphere? Drawing on a systematic analysis of official press releases between May 1997 and December 1998, the paper demonstrates that New Deal became a centrepiece of the Government's news management strategy, and examines those preoccupations and values that were singled out for particular emphasis in the press releases. These are then related to the broader contemporary position of vocational education and training policy in the UK.

The New Deal

How distinctive is the New Deal? Clearly, the government has drawn heavily upon experience of previous programmes, both in the UK and elsewhere. However, it does possess a number of distinctive features including:

- comprehensive coverage, extending to a range of non-work benefit recipients and not solely those formally registered as unemployed;
- a substantial preliminary period of individualised guidance, advice and in some cases coaching (the Gateway stage);
- exposing clients to a daily regime of work combined with training; and
- the extensive use of sanctions, including withdrawal of benefits.

Finally, while New Deal is led by the Employment Service nationally, it exemplifies a multi-agency approach locally. Delivery is through locally-based consortia, which may involve employers, further education institutions, private training providers, voluntary agencies, local authorities, careers services and Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs) or Local Enterprise Companies (LECs).

Analysis of press releases

Press releases are official texts. In order to appear, they must be approved by government press officers, themselves experienced in handling the print and broadcast media. From one perspective, they might be regarded as tainted by association with New Labour's infamous "spin doctors". However, the chief interest here lies precisely in the relationship between the worlds of training and "spin". Training is rarely seen as a controversial or newsworthy subject, but the New Deal has been an exception. Press officers have sought systematically to present the New Deal as an example of "good news", and the analysis traces how this was handled in the releases.

The empirical basis of this paper consists of a content analysis of government press releases covering the New Deal. All relevant press releases posted on the government's Internet sites were collected from three sources:

- the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE), covering the period 1 May 1997 to 31 December 1998;
- Scottish Office Industry and Education Department (SOEID), for the period 1 October 1997 to 31 December 1998; and
- the Northern Ireland Department of Education (DENI) and Training and Employment Agency (TEA) for 1 May 1997 to 31 December 1998.

A straightforward content analysis was then undertaken, based on a close reading of each release by two people.

In analysing the releases there were firstly a number of simple numerical questions. How many press releases dealt with the New Deal? How frequently did they appear? How long were they? And on the basis of simple factual detail - such as the main speaker quoted and the venue mentioned - how were they distributed? Analysing the releases on this basis was relatively straightforward, and presented no particular problems.

Second, there were more qualitative questions concerning the theme and emphasis of press releases. These were more problematic. Not only is there the difficulty of judging which of a number of themes and emphases was most prominent. Methodologically, there is a need to distinguish both 'manifest' and 'latent' content (Robson 1993 : 274) - particularly when the message on the page may be deliberately designed to distract attention from some weakness or problem.

The press releases also provide evidence of emphasis upon broad themes. This involved the analysis of connotation (or associations) rather than denotation (or direct meaning), through the identification of phrases, words and images that seemed to carry a load of meaning that went beyond the surface message. This, it should be emphasised, was not an exercise in discourse analysis in either the form of applied linguistics or in the more Foucauldian and postmodern sense sometimes encountered in the social sciences. Put briefly, neither of these seemed particularly helpful in an empirical social study of policy-oriented texts. Anyway, while the idea of "discourse" has been bandied about in adult education research, to my knowledge it is used mainly as a symbolic trademark rather than as an analytical tool. This analysis was a simple exercise, concerned mainly with identifying underlying themes and exploring the meanings - including those which are implicit and tacit - that are embedded within the set of press releases under analysis.

Frequency and focus

Throughout the period covered in this study, New Deal was big news and mostly good news. In twenty months, DfEE issued 76 press releases about the New Deal; SOEID issued 67 in only thirteen months; 29 releases came from the Northern Ireland bodies. On average, this works out at 3.8 press releases a month from DfEE and 5.2 from SOEID. In terms of length, the average DfEE release took up just over two full pages, the Northern Ireland and SOEID releases around one page. Simple numerical data, then, confirm the high profile that the government gave the New Deal.

Whose voice was being quoted? Government ministers, and to a lesser extent senior civil servants, dominate. In the DfEE releases, all the most frequently identified speakers were government ministers; of 63 individual mentions, all but twelve were accounted for by three individuals: Employment Minister Andrew Smith (42 mentions) and Secretary of State David Blunkett (9). Ministers also dominated in Scotland, the top three (Brian Wilson with 22, Donald Dewar with 11, and Lord McDonald with 7) accounting for all but 17 of the 57 mentions. In Northern Ireland, there was more of a spread: of 33 individual mentions, 21 went to the Ministers responsible for employment and training; non-ministerial speakers included TEA officers (6 mentions), employers (3 mentions), and New Deal trainees (2 mentions), with the remaining mention being for a British Treasury minister.

Who was said to be listening? Particularly in Scotland, but also in the DfEE releases, employers clearly top the list of audiences being addressed. Frequently, ministerial comments were attributed to speeches made on employers' premises, enabling the government to confirm, with photopportunities, the New Deal's association with employment; in such cases, the attributed comments would usually include some reference to employers' commitment to the New Deal or their role in New Deal partnerships.

The voluntary sector came second, but by some distance. There were important regional differences in the pattern, with the voluntary sector sharing first place with employers in the Northern Ireland releases. Elsewhere it came some way below business. Few noted educational or training audiences: none at all in the DfEE releases, while the one educational audience in Scottish releases was a nursery school (the point being made was about commitment to childcare). This suggests an active desire, with the possible exception of Northern Ireland, not to associate the New Deal closely with education and training, but to build a clear identity with jobs and special interest groups.

Even a simple breakdown of press releases suggests a clear pattern. Above all, their number and timing confirms that ministers see New Deal as an important initiative which may be publicised in such a way as to shape public perceptions of the government's activities. The weight given to publicising ministers suggests that the New Deal is packaged as a politically-driven initiative, and a popular one at that. And the New Deal is being associated in the press releases, not with the education and training communities, but with the world of employment.

Themes and trends

What particular themes emerge from this scrutiny? A simple numerical analysis hints at the broad "spin" placed on the New Deal, but with significant differences between the three government departments concerned. Overall, the releases emphasised such themes as quality, partnership, newness and dynamism; more conventional concerns in connection with training, such as employability or employer orientation, were used rather less frequently; such topics as skills were barely mentioned at all.

If the press releases had one core goal, it was to create a gap between the New Deal and previous training schemes. A fortnight after Labour came to power, a Northern Ireland minister was quoted as saying

> Too many schemes in the past have been about massaging unemployment figures. There must be no hint of this in what we do (TEA Release, 21/5/97).

In a release detailing the advantages of the New Deal for the people of Omagh immediately after Republican bomb attack of September 1998, it was emphasised that "New Deal is different" (TEA release, 7/9/98). A junior Scottish minister was quoted as telling a conference of young unemployed people that:

> Young people have every reason to be fed up with the types of schemes that have run in the past. They have every reason to be cynical, but the New Deal is not a gimmick. It is not a scheme. It is a real commitment by Government and the community . . . . an ambitious programme which goes beyond anything that has been done before (Scottish Office Release, 12/2/98).

Donald Dewar contrasted New Deal with "the 'revolving door' syndrome of past schemes" (Scottish Office Release, 26/5/98).

Of a piece with this was an attempt to identify New Deal with youth concerns, such as rock music. One release attributed quotes not only to a junior Employment Minister, and the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport but also to the owner of Creation Records (DfEE Release, 15/6/98). Music also featured in Scotland (Scottish Office Releases, 26/5/98 and 19/6/98), as did sport. At a signing-up ceremony at a sports retailer, a Scottish Office Minister was quoted as saying that "Young people can easily identify with companies like Sports Division" (Scottish Office Release, 31/3/98).

For trainees, New Deal was said to offer choice, hope and alternative futures. "New Deal is giving all of us the chance to fulfil our dreams" was attributed to a Belfast barber (TEA Release 25/9/98). Another release, quoting from comments reportedly made in a bus depot, and clearly intended to provide a photo-opportunity, had a senior civil servant saying that "up to 100 unemployed people could be taking the drive of their lives into employment" (TEA Release, 7/12/98). As the Prime Minister put it in a speech in Dundee, "New Deal, new opportunities" (Scottish Office Release, 17/7/98). Frequently, releases drew contrasts between life before and after the New Deal, occasionally illustrated with short biographical vignettes, but more often contrasting life at work with "the frustration, social exclusion and lost potential that unemployment brings" (DfEE Release, 29/6/98). The Secretary of State was said to have described the scheme as "set to revolutionise the path from welfare to work" (DfEE Release, 6/4/98), while a Scottish Office release of the same day had Donald Dewar welcoming New Deal as "central" to welfare reform (Scottish Office Release, 6/4/98).

Some releases offered a more negative public portrait of the unemployed, in particular of young unemployed people. David Blunkett was supposed to have described the task ahead as being:

> to take the disillusioned and the disconnected and offer them employment in booming Britain. This is a tall order and most of us know that previous employment schemes have foundered on these very rocks (DfEE Release, 9/12/97).

Throughout, one implication was that, left to their own devices, young people would idle their days away. This was connected to an explicit emphasis upon sanctions. In 1997, it was said that "There is no fifth option of life on full benefit" (TEA Release, 8/9/97), and in 1998 that "Staying on benefit will no longer be an option" (DfEE Release, 5/1/98) or that "New Deal is not a soft option" (5/1/98). One young Castledawson trainee reportedly claimed that "Through New Deal . . . instead of sitting at home, I now make parts for the automotive industry" TEA Release, 18/9/98).

Occasionally, releases adopted war-like language to highlight the seriousness with which New Deal was tackling unemployment. One Northern Ireland release was headlined "CRUSADE FOR THE UNEMPLOYED" (TEA Release 13/10/97), while subsequently a minister was quoted as calling on employers and voluntary agencies to "join with the Government in what is not just another training scheme but a national crusade against unemployment" TEA, 27/11/97). In any war, there had to be an enemy. In Scotland and Northern Ireland this tended to be the "scourge" or "wastage" (e.g. TEA Release, 18/2/98) or even in Scotland what was repeatedly described as the "evil" or "social evil" of unemployment (e.g. Scottish Office Releases, 20/10/97, 27/11/97, 5/1/98, 20/2/98, 26/2/98, 2/4/98). In England, a junior Employment Minister was said to have told workers with the homeless of businesses enthusiasm for "joining the fight against long-term youth unemployment" (DfEE Release, 13/2/98); the "scourge of youth and long-term unemployment" (DfEE Release 23/9/97) also featured in England, but less frequently than in Northern Ireland and Scotland. More broadly, and abstractly, New Deal was repeatedly presented as part of the "battle against social exclusion" (e.g. Scottish Office Release, 5/1/98). Donald Dewar was quoted as saying that "The first shots of the battle to beat unemployment have been fired in Tayside" (Scottish Office Release, 6/4/98).

Judged purely on the number of references, considerable emphasis went to nationality. However, this was a largely Scottish pattern. Scottish Office press releases referred routinely to the New Deal within Scotland, not within Britain, or to "young unemployed Scots" (Scottish Office Release, 27/2/98). As one headline had it, "DISABLED SCOTS TO GET NEW DEAL" (Scottish Office Release, 16/7/98). The broad thrust of Scottish Office new releases seems to have been designed to situate New Deal as a policy developed within Scotland and designed to pursue a Scottish rather than a British agenda. Such national qualifiers were not used in either Northern Ireland or England; in Scotland, they reflected a perceived need to brand the New Deal as having national roots.

While a Scottish label was sometimes little more than tartan branding, on occasion it was tied to a broader political agenda centred on social inclusion. At a conference on social exclusion, Dewar was said to have described New Deal as "one of our most important programmes to creating a fairer, more decent and more inclusive society in Scotland" (Scottish Office News Release, 27/2/98). Dewar was also given as source for the following passage:

> The New Deal is about creating opportunities for young people which will take them forward to a lifetime of work, not a lifetime without work. This is much more than another Government initiative or scheme, it is about changing society in Scotland (Scottish Office News Release, 7/10/97).

A junior Minister was said to have urged private sector employers to accept trainees with the argument that "We in Scotland pride ourselves on being a compassionate society"(Scottish office Release, 24/11/97). Emigration also featured, albeit not from the mouths of either Ministers or civil servants: the musician Benny Gallagher was quoted as saying that

> For too long, young Scots have had to move south to develop their careers in the creative industries and I hope this initiative will help to redress this (Scottish Office Release, 19/6/98).

Scottish references could also be seen as part of an internal agenda. For Donald Dewar, the fact that two young women found work with a heritage centre on Eigg was apparently "proof that the New Deal was not just about helping people in the Central Belt but throughout the length and breadth of Scotland" (Scottish Office Release, 30/7/98).

In Northern Ireland, partnership played a dominant part. In Northern Ireland (and to a lesser extent in Scotland) partnership was broadly defined to encompass voluntary and community organisations, training bodies and the further education sector, with particular emphasis on the voluntary sector (eg TEA 9/12/97, 25/3/98); in words attributed to one Minister, "breaking the hold of unemployment will be a team effort involving many people at community level" (TEA, 11/5/98). The partnership theme was also used in the release following the Omagh bomb (TEA, 7/9/98). Partnership was also an important theme in Scotland, albeit not one that received as much attention as in Northern Ireland; in DfEE releases, though, partnership was usually presented in connection with employer involvement.

European dimensions, by contrast, barely featured at all. This might be thought odd given that the New Deal enjoys substantial financial support from European Structural Funds, and that its design is moulded onto the template of Structural Fund Regulations. The only releases alluding to the EU came during the UK's Presidency, and were designed to highlight the UK's influence over its European partners. Thus a release following the Council of Social Affairs Ministers, which approved the last stages of measures initially agreed under the Dutch Presidency in 1997 and originating under the German Presidency in 1996, was greeted as a "European 'New Deal'", a phrase attributed to David Blunkett. Nor was this an isolated case of claiming credit for something the EU had already planned (DfEE Releases, 4/6/98, 2/12/98). Common policy was presented in a positive relation to the domestic political arena, downplaying the EU's role in establishing the framework for vocational training policy.

Conclusion

Across the UK, government has award the New Deal a remarkably high profile. Training for welfare claimants has not often been at the forefront of government public relations strategies. This paper has shown not only that Government believes that the programme might significantly enhance and consolidate its public image in its first months in power; in addition, official press advisers have sought to present the programme in ways that emphasise New Deal's flagship status, by highlighting those features that exemplify the Government's self-defined core values and priorities. In part, this may have been contingent: early debates over single parents place in New Deal provoked backbench rebellion and extremely adverse press comment, and the government's news managers were clearly looking to transform public perceptions of the programme. However, this itself suggests that welfare reform in a post-scarcity society is, as Bauman has suggested, a fraught and complex project.

This paper has also shed light on aspects of the New Deal. Thus, it is clear that Government and officials believe that the unemployed, and to some extent the wider public, have learned to distrust training programmes; they also believe that the public consensus in favour of active labour market measures is fragile; press management techniques have been brought to bear upon these problems. This analysis also shows the extent to which New Deal has been packaged as an integral part of New Labour - and, for that matter, of New Scottish Labour, and even as a contribution towards the peace process in Northern Ireland. Again, this confirms that press advisers regard the New Deal as a significant political advantage.

Vocational education and training are now viewed as fair game for the media. This is in turn related to the restructuring of welfare with which this paper began. If we can no longer assume that social solidarity commands a consensus among the comfortable majority, not least because work has lost some of its symbolic as well as economic significance, then it follows that welfare reform must be combined with active strategies designed to secure consent. It is within this wider context of welfare reform and changing social attitudes that we should situate the attempts at news management that have been scrutinised in this paper. Of course "spin doctors" working on the New Deal, as in other areas; what is important is the attention and energy devoted to presenting New Deal in as favourable a light as possible. The ways in which press officers have sought to do so tell us a great deal about the important ways in which welfare reform and training policy are now inextricably interlinked.

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English, Afrikaans, Xhosa and Setswana: Contested language space in a South African Adult Education program

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> Today's planetary prepotence of Anglo-American ... is a crisis phenomenon altering the very nature of language and human relations. Ironically, it too is generating an enforced bilingualism (the native speaker has to know both his tongue and Anglo-American) (Steiner, 80).

Background to the research

Desai and Van der Merwe suggest that in order to accommodate linguistic diversity in South Africa, one must look at the tensions that exist between English and the African languages. Afrikaans can be left out of the contest, they argue, for two reasons:

> Firstly, very few Afrikaans-speaking people have been denied access to the wider world in South Africa because of their primary language being Afrikaans. ... Secondly, as a result of Afrikaans and English being cognate languages, Afrikaans-speakers display a fairly high level of proficiency in English ... (Desai and Van der Merwe 1998, 248).

This paper gives a summary of a small research project I have conducted into the language preferences of students taking part in the Certificate for Educators of Adults. The course is run by CACE (the Centre for Adult and Continuing Education) where I am based. I try to show that in educational contexts where Afrikaans and African language speakers are brought together, Afrikaans has a central and paradoxical role in reinforcing the use of English as the language of communication. In these circumstances the relative powerlessness of both Afrikaans and African languages in the face of English is underlined. My paper suggests ways in which this can happen.

Four clauses in *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, Act 108 (1996, 4-5, cited in Desai and Van der Merwe) give some essential facts and present a language policy which at the moment remains an ideal:

1. The official languages are, in alphabetical order, Afrikaans, English, isiNdinbele, isiZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda and Xitsonga.
2. The onus is on the state to create conditions for the development and promotion of particularly the nine African languages.
3. The National and provincial Governments must use at least two official languages for the purposes of government.
4. National and provincial languages must regulate and monitor the use of official languages. All languages must be treated equitably.

Most of the education problems in South Africa involve questions of language one way or another. But the difficulties that are likely to arise during discussions of language can sometimes be quite threatening. At stake is the personality and culture of many adult participants on courses, not to mention the educational competence of those who plan, provide, present and tutor courses. In many forums outside adult education language issues are ignored. When senior vice chancellors, business representatives, political parties and the Department of Education met recently to discuss 'The future of South African Universities: What role for business?' (CDE, 1998) – every problem was aired except language. Development literature suffers from the same problem. The functions and problems of languages in communicating development projects and ideas are not sufficiently discussed. The problematic disjunction between the language used to talk about communities - English - and the languages other than English used within those communities is often ignored.

Statements about language can fall into platitudes that avoid unpalatable facts, or they can become political manifestos that fail to recognize the intractable but fickle nature of language use. In the name of transformation programs can be called into question and unintended implications of alternative policies are not taken into account. The implications that arise from challenging the way languages are used in education programmes have to be distinguished for the speakers of different languages. In each case deep feelings of unease are raised; down-to-earth debates between students from different backgrounds have on several occasions in my experience either led to the stirring up of race-associated antagonisms, or had to be stopped before any lasting damage was done.

Language is indeed a contentious issue. It is important to trace the realities of use and to describe the ways in which speaking particular languages advantages some and disadvantages others. As a situation this cannot be entirely avoided, but some problems may be overcome if we understand the detail of what happens when people come together on courses such as ours. What are the longer term effects of pursuing alternative policies? To start off I give a slightly exaggerated problem profile of the users of different languages on our course.

First, English speaking whites. These people are renowned for their ineluctable monolingualism, and academics are no exception. A majority are rendered less than clever in Afrikaans and mercifully silent in all other languages. Yet they (we) often behave with what amounts to linguistic arrogance, failing to realise that it is frustrating for others to always work in a second language and difficult for them to convey exactly what they want to say (Merrill 1997, 1- 8). We still believe that 'there is no need … to master a foreign tongue in order to collaborate effectively with members of a different speech community' (Hantrais and Ager 1985, 29, cited in Merrill 1997).

Afrikaans speaking whites do not as a rule suffer from this self-imposed handicap. On the other hand they have to cope with a recent failed attempt to dominate. So they have an unpleasant choice to make. Either they feel obliged to defer the interests of Afrikaans, or they risk the danger of appearing to hark back to an embarrassing and oppressive past that is best forgotten.

The plight of first language African speakers is much worse than any of this. Many continue to feel ashamed of their language. Others do not share such feelings, but are nevertheless obliged to use the dominant discourse for a host of powerful and practical reasons. Competence in the use of spoken and written English is often not attained under well-attested conditions of subservience. Moreover English has been learned from teachers for whom English is a second language and whose vocabulary and expressive range is not as broad as that of a first language speaker. For Xhosa and Setswana speakers (these are the two main African languages in the Western and Northern Cape, but it is the same for speakers of other African languages in South Africa) the overwhelming lack of African texts is impossible to remedy in the short or medium term. Less frequently acknowledged is an insecurity with texts that (I suggest) derives from a lack of familiarity with institutionally established traditions and routines for processing documents outside the classroom. All of this contributes to a more general perception – a rather negatively-tinged association of so-called 'black languages' with poor and uneducated people living in townships and rural areas. For many black people in consequence, the English language provides a least inconvenient politically acceptable escape route.

'Coloured' people suffer from their own distinctive host of cultural uncertainties. For a majority the home language is Afrikaans – a language which was affirmed by political masters whom they disowned during the apartheid years. In the rural areas where many of them live they sometimes feel disadvantaged in relation to first language Africans who at least have had an education of sorts in

English. Their first language is viewed by some with distaste, and is not infrequently misunderstood. At the same time many have a less than secure grasp of English. Africans who have been taught in English at school are often in a better position to use the opportunities provided by adult education courses and flex their linguistic muscles.

Course description

The CACE Certificate for Educators of Adults is a two year course run in the Western and Northern Cape. It caters for people of all ages without degrees who work in community structures and organisations. Students are taught in distance and face-to-face modes using local tutor facilitated sessions. They are divided into three semi-independent groups. 81 students are administered from Cape Town; they come to CACE for five extended study weekends; Kimberley is the study-weekend base for the other two groups of 69 and 71 students each. The research reported in the next section was carried out with the Cape Town and the larger of the two Kimberley groups.

Assessment of students is by written assignment, exams and (to a lesser extent) live presentations. Written assignments can be in English or Afrikaans (but not an African language), oral presentations can be made in all languages. One cannot give a completely solid picture at this point because some students vary their choice of language. As a rough guide, for any given assignment about 50 out of 220 are written in Afrikaans rather than English. The application forms tell a different story however: they suggest that although Afrikaans is the first language for over twice as many students - at least 104 - many Afrikaans speakers choose not to speak their home language at study weekend discussions. These same students tend to read and write in English for studying and assignment work. Such facts were a source of interest and formed the starting point for this investigation.

CACE produces many of its own teaching texts. At the moment there are no African language versions of our modules, but 'How to run a Successful Business" is promised in Xhosa by JUTA (educational publishers) shortly. Students with an African language mother tongue at the moment, then, have no choice; except when giving oral presentations, they are obliged to use English.

The questionnaire

16 questions were devised in a questionnaire asking students on the course about language use and their own language preferences. It was given to students in two of the three groups currently taking the Certificate at the end of study weekends that took place in Kimberley (Northern Cape) and Cape Town (Western Cape) in March and April respectively. 53 out of a total of 81 students returned completed forms in Cape Town, 52 out of 71 in Kimberley. The responses given by Kimberley students indicate that some of them had not understood how to react to 6 of the questions and the form was modified for Cape Town. There is no space to discuss the responses to the remaining questions and the paper concentrates on 5 of the questions that appeared to yield significant results. These are: **A**, a question asking students to list their first, second and third languages; **B** and **C**, two questions on language preferences on the course; **D**, a question asking for reactions to the use of English as the main language of instruction; **E**, an open-ended question asking students to explain their response to **D**.

In order to make comparisons easier the figures are expressed as percentages. These are not proper statistics and the findings do not necessarily represent larger populations (of students or provinces). In a sample of 50 a single response makes a difference of 2%.

One has to be cautious about the response summaries; many factors influence the way students react. Advertising and selection procedures, the way the course is presented, the personalities and preferences of lecturers, teaching texts, and the fact that the questionnaires were in English and known to be devised by an English speaker, all or any of these could bias the responses. In spite of these and other reservations, the discussions I have had with students and tutors and my own experiences suggest that that there may be - even that there probably is - a clear and significant trend represented here that needs to be followed up with greater thoroughness and precision. The first item below provides a summary of the 1996 population census and gives the distribution of the main languages spoken in the two provinces (Statistics South Africa, 1998).

	W. CAPE	**N. CAPE**
	n = 53	n = 52
The S.A. population census of 1996	percent	percent
first language in each province		
Afrikaans	59.2	69.3
English	20.3	2.4
Setswana	0.1	19.9
Xhosa	19.1	6.3
Others	1.3	6.1
Responses by CACE students		
A		
first language		
Afrikaans	51	46
English	16	0
Setswana	0	40
Xhosa	29	12
Others	4	2
second language		
Afrikaans	17	11
English	77	87
Setswana	0	0
Xhosa	2	2
Others	2	0
Third language		
Afrikaans	17	35
English	4	10
Setswana	0	4
Xhosa	0	4
Other	4	4
B. Which language would you like for major presentations by lecturers?		
Afrikaans	24	25
English	55	63
Setswana	0	2
Xhosa	8	0

C. Which language would you like to use at your local study group?		
Afrikaans	43	46
English	43	46
Setswana	0	6
Xhosa	4	0
D. The main language of instruction is English. How do you feel about this?		
Very happy (African speakers)	23	42
Very happy (Afrikaans speakers)	25	19
OK (African speakers)	4	29
OK (Afrikaans speakers)	38	10
Problems	10	0
Very unhappy	0	0

Explain why you gave this response

There were a wide variety of answers. Recurring themes were divided into positive/practical and negative (involving avoidance, insecurity or dislike). The positive outnumbered the negative by a factor of nearly 4 to 1. The most frequent response was the universality of English - 'all understand it internationally', 'everywhere you go is English'. Two related ideas - that English provides access to equality in the classroom, and to democratic ideas beyond were given in many formulations – 'we all need to make sacrifices – every one understands it', 'if we keep English no one can say their language is favorite'. Democratic values feature in five of the six modules of the Certificate so this response was to be expected. Other recurring ideas included career prospects and personal improvement - 'I need English in my work ', and several cited the time taken to translate from one language to another during sessions. This reason shaded into the negative as in: 'translating takes time, because of the difficulty of speaking with other students I go along with it'. Negative responses tended to be despairing - 'we have to learn English, it's no use to speak Xhosa all the time', or resigned - 'I have learned to settle with the present ruling.' 5 Western Cape and 14 Northern Cape responses were in Afrikaans; many voiced feelings of insecurity about speaking English in public rather than writing it. One positive contribution was 'Soms is dinge onduidelik alhoewel dit baie kortek in engels is!' (sometimes things are unclear, although it's much quicker in English). Two people gave English facilitation as a reason for accepting English, a factor which may be more significant than the responses suggest.

Some observations

This section offers provisional comments on the responses.

- A substantial majority of students from all language groups prefer English as a language of instruction. The choice is most clearly expressed in response to question E. Asked how they felt about the fact that the main language of instruction was English 95% of the total sample opt for 'very happy' and 'OK' rather than 'problems' or 'very unhappy'.
- Among a host of reasons given in response to **D**, the fact that English is the language most nearly understood by all (although to varying degrees) provides a pressing practical consideration and cannot be ignored or overlooked in mixed language groups. Pressure to present developmental courses in English must in the medium term act to further reinforce the language in terms of expectations and networking.
- African language speakers are noticeably more enthusiastic about English than Afrikaans speakers. Some African speakers (a majority of whom cannot speak Afrikaans) say that they feel excluded on the occasions when Afrikaans is used.
- The responses show that some people from all groups wish to improve their English. But African speakers do not have the option of using their language.
- Some Afrikaans speakers feel insecure in English. The fact that the written modules and assignments are also offered in Afrikaans appears to act in ways that confirm a difference in levels of English proficiency between the Afrikaans speakers who opt to take the course in their own language, and those who opt for English.
- It is important to stress that a large minority of Afrikaans speakers do not display a high level of proficiency in English. The completed questionnaires confirm that such students come from rural areas and tend to choose Afrikaans. Some Afrikaans speakers express concern and even resentment at having to speak English. Others avoid using Afrikaans in multi-lingual situations, since they perceive themselves to be disadvantaged.
- Afrikaans speakers who use English at study weekends prefer and want to use Afrikaans at local study groups. There is a marked contrast here with African language speakers who prefer to use English at locally based study groups.
- A number of students reject the partial solution that has been offered of translating one language into another in the classroom, mainly for time reasons.

Further research and a more comprehensive analysis is clearly needed.

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Conclusions

Young (1995, 63-71) asserts that it is impossible for a dominant metropolitan language to facilitate national development. If he is right, the outlook for South Africa is bleak. It seems on the evidence presented here that the dominance of English is not only here to stay but likely to increase. It is true that many are unwilling to accept the fact without a fight, and the constitution, as we have seen, calls for an approach to linguistic affirmative action so that all eleven languages can be sustained. Neville Alexander (1995, 38) writes: 'Only conscious mobilisation of the people by those who understand the economic political and cultural significance of a policy of multilingualism will allow us to get away from mere lip-service to a noble ideal.' Yet the non-English speaking majority seem to be making choices that will in time render this laudable feature of the constitution a dead letter.

There is a very real dilemma here. First, whether adult education is promoted in the guise of development, communication, perspective transformation or globalisation - whatever it is - all the important discussions and debates take place in English. But second, the communities that adult educators are concerned with in South Africa do not, generally speaking, have English as a first language. Third, adult education courses of a developmental nature are few on the ground, poorly resourced and motivated by aims that preclude the idea of separate development for linguistic communities. As Skutnabb-Kangas (1990, cited in Desai and Van der Merwe) suggests, the criterion used to divide people into groups with unequal access to power and resources has shifted from biological 'race' and culture to language. Crudely put, emancipation from 'race' groups implies mixing languages, and this always in the end seems to mean using English.

Is English a radical or an establishment voice in the post apartheid multi-lingual contexts we have in South Africa? The thrust of developmental courses is on the indigenous generation of self-sustaining activities and resources, and it is surely undeniable that the use of English as a medium of instruction consolidates a perceived role as an effective means of social advancement. The impediments involved in promoting indigenous languages that do not possess many of their own written texts as languages of instruction are considerable. And Afrikaans, which is after all a language with a mass of texts at its disposal, appears at the moment to be assisting the advance of English. Is, then, English viewed by the participants of adult education courses as *the* language, without which no development is possible? The answer to this question at the moment appears to be yes. But, and here is the rub, to what extent does using English when it is a second and exoglossic language, encourage people to better themselves through genuinely community-enhancing transformative action? Or does it, as Young implies, tend to buttress existing establishment-oriented channels? Rather a lot depends on the answer.

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The forgotten frontier: spaceship earth. The importance of metaphor in educating for ecological literacy

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Purpose of this paper

What is the role of adult education in the context of the global problematique, that is the complex web of issues arising from the dynamic relationship between population, resources, environment and development? In light of the current state of the planet, our imbalanced human ecology, much work needs to be undertaken by educators in all spheres to address the dire situation regarding the ecological illiteracy of most of the planet's inhabitants, particularly those in the 'overdeveloped' world. Given that our biological existence is dependent on the greater than human world (the biosphere), it seems imperative to be learning of and teaching our interconnectedness with all life forms, upon which all other learning and teaching (existence) is dependent. Looking at the soil beneath our very own feet, in our own backyards, needs to be a priority above and beyond exploration of any other spaces further afield. The determinant frontier and the seemingly forgotten one is therefore Spaceship Earth.

In light of this global context, what can we learn as adult educators from people who are treading *by choice* more lightly on the Planet? This paper is part of a PhD-in-progress, looking at the shift in meaning perspectives (Mezirow, 1996) of those who have consciously chosen to reduce their ecological 'shadow' (impact) by making lifestyle changes. Entitled "Transformative learning experiences resulting in reduced ecological shadows: Ecological literacy and the role of generative metaphor", the research is a phenomenological study of the transformative experiences of these light-footed individuals, exploring the change in their relationship with the greater than human world and their use of metaphor to describe this new relationship. How do their metaphors compare with the values and beliefs underpinning the educational models of modern society? Do these new meaning perspectives, metaphors and actions resulting from the experience constitute what environmental educators call improved ecological literacy? Do Mezirow's criteria for a more fully developed frame of reference (Mezirow, 1996) correspond to criteria used to define ecological literacy? These are the questions I hope to answer by the end of the PhD. In this paper I will be outlining the nature of the overall research endeavour and then presenting preliminary findings regarding use of metaphor, derived from the pre-pilot interviews so far conducted.

Terms and assumptions

First, however, I will list my assumptions and explain some of the terms being used in the research. The term **global problematique** is used to refer to the complex and interconnected web of socio-cultural and environmental issues facing the planet today, for example, increasingly toxic living conditions, absurd disparities in quality of life across the globe, reduced biodiversity, water scarcity, increasing violence, social exclusion from economic and political systems, war and the generally unsustainable trajectory of human 'development'. This may also be refered to generally as the 'state of the world'.

Human ecology, as the study of the global problematique, attempts to see the world in a relational framework, allowing Human Ecologists to draw on any number of disciplines, from psychology, education, biology, theology, geography etc. to address the state of the world in an holistic, problem-centred way. The study of the global problematique is therefore trans-disciplinary and seen through the lens of three key relationships, that with self, that with others (community, society) and that with the greater than human world (McIntosh, 1998). Consequently, seeking solutions in the field of human ecology leads us to consider measures from the realm of the personal, (one's sense of self, worldview and ability to act in the world in collaboration with others), to the political and institutional, (looking at mechanisms and policy at national and international levels that create or destroy social and ecological relationships). This approach is based on an acknowledgement of the interconnectedness of all aspects of the global problematique, the honouring of the 'whole-person' with regard to human behaviour (ie. cognitive, conative and affective dimensions) and the understanding that many of the planet's problems are culturally derived.

I am using the term **greater than human world** to describe what would normally be called the non-human or natural world, the biosphere. This is to start reclaiming, through language, a truer understanding of our relationship with the world. Greater than human avoids the false human-nature polarity which suggests a mutual exclusivity, whilst it also allows, as I see it, a sense of humans being a subset of the greater cosmos and all-embracing lifeforce.

Generative metaphor is defined as "the application of a name or descriptive term or phrase to an object or action to which it is imaginatively but not literally applicable (eg. *a glaring error*)" (Thompson, 1995). Schon makes the distinction between metaphor (calling A, B) and generative metaphor, saying that not all metaphors are generative, the latter entailing the generation of new perceptions, explanations and inventions (Schon, 1979). As this research is focused on new perceptions and explanations, I will henceforth use generative metaphor interchangeably with metaphor, to mean what Schon describes as generative metaphor.

My assumptions regarding the **role of language** in creating the world are summed up by the quote below from Jane Caputi:

> "An insight that recurs in countless ancient myths and stories is that *in the beginning is the word.* Language - including naming, dreaming, and imaging - does not merely reflect or describe reality, it constructs it. Simultaneously, it forms the consciousness and social selves of individual speakers. Language is a primary locus of socialization. Embedded in "standard" white English...are the perspectives, agendas, and imposed realities of those who are in power." (Caputi, 1993).

Finally, on the use of the term **ecological shadow**. Originally I wished to interview respondents who had had transformative learning experiences which had resulted in a reduction in their ecological footprint (Wackernagel and Rees, 1996), a term defined as "the area of land required to provide the resources consumed by the population of a city or a nation." (Diesendorf and Hamilton, 1997). However I've now coined the term ecological shadow, as it is less empirical, and more meaningful for study of change in an individual person's behaviour over time. With these definitions and assumptions in mind, we are now in a position to look at the role of this research, its objectives and contributions to the field of adult education.

Brief background to the research

Economic and technologically driven solutions are proving ineffective in the face of the declining state of the world, for reasons outlined by Norgaard:

> Global environmental degradation is perhaps the most blatant challenge to modernity. Yet most scientists and concerned laypeople still interpret the widespread perception that modernity is undermining itself as a mandate for multiple adjustments guided by an expansion in data collection, a more sophisticated use of Western science, more controls on technology, better institutional design, and appeals to existing values. This interpretation of the path to sustainable development calls for the expansion of the domain of modern rationality and intensification of its application. But if modernity is undermining itself, might not its enlargement and strengthening hasten the process? (Norgaard, 1994).

If solutions to the global problematique are to be found, Norgaard suggests they will not be in the same toolkit as was used to create the current situation. This is one reason I choose to focus on the less visible but critical building blocks that form the foundations of a sound human ecology, (what is sometimes refered to as 'sustainability' in its most generous sense), namely how our language, culture and socialization processes dictate our relationship to the world, and that by seeing through the contradictions inherent in the western worldview, we can re-create the world through language, choosing new, more appropriate generative metaphors to describe the human-greater than human relationship. Often this runs against the flow of the 'dominant social paradigm' (DSP) (Milbrath, 1989), a term used as shorthand to describe the constellation of "common values, beliefs, and shared wisdom about the physical and social environments which constitute a society's basic 'worldview'" (Pirages, 1977). While such a worldview is never ubiquitously endorsed, it does, according to many authors, provide guidelines for action for both individuals and societal groups and is rooted in a society's use of language.

Metaphor and its roles

According to Bowers,

> All thought is metaphorical: its orientation and pattern grow out of the root metaphors of the culture; It understands new dimensions of experience in terms of the already familiar (analogic thinking); and the nonproblematic aspects of language which serve as the building blocks of thought are the iconic metaphors (eg. individualism, intelligence, mankind, etc.) that encode earlier stages of analogic thinking. To put this point another way, because language encodes the earlier stages of a cultural group's metaphorical thinking, the thought process of the individual is always influenced by the tacit conventions of language. (Bowers, 1992).

Metaphor then, involves understanding something new in terms of its similarities with something more familiar. 'Thinking of something as if it were like something else involves carrying over the interpretive schema (encoding process) from one area of experience to another.' (Bowers, 1992). It follows therefore that words, when used as metaphors, can encode past schemata of understanding that are in effect, no longer useful or appropriate. For example, such an inappropriate metaphor might be that of competition as the dominant relationship in nature, being applied to human culture. This is a pathological metaphor whereas a more ecologically sustaining one, might draw on the interdependence of life as exemplified in ecosystems. Continuing with this example, Bower's draws on Wendell Berry's nested and interdependent view of human ecology; 'We can build one system only within another. We can have agriculture only within nature, and culture only within agriculture. At certain critical points these systems have to conform with one another or destroy one another' (Bowers, 1992).

Research Methodology

My starting point is the lived experience of people who have consciously chosen to reduce their ecological impact on the planet, having experienced some kind of transformative event or series of events. These people are located in a variety of sites, selected in an attempt to maximise the potential types of lifestyle/behaviour changes experienced. For example, the spectrums for selection of the sites are degree of engagement in the dominant social paradigm, educational background, type of employment, lifestyle and approach to social change. Within these sites, appropriate individuals are being identified through a process of peer nomination using the criteria derived from the Global Eco-village Network's Sustainability Self-Audit checklist (GEN, 1996). However, the findings presented in this paper are from pre-pilot interviews based on self-selected interviews conducted in my own community.

Tentative findings from pre-pilot interviews:

The interviews so far have not been analysed in a strictly phenomenological sense, however for the purposes of this paper, they provide anecdotal evidence which forms the beginnings of answers to the questions posed above. Firstly, the nature and characteristics of the respondents' transformative learning experiences. In several cases, interviewees described mind-opening experiences after which the entire world and their place in it looked very different. Others used the metaphor of a light bulb turning on to describe their experience, or in one case it was more like a fire cracker going off over their head and the sparkles tingling down their body as if to confirm the intellectual realisation in a bodily way. Some of these Mezirow would describe as a shift in meaning schemes, whereas others had a shift in meaning perspective (Mezirow, 1990), the latter being a more significant change in the structure of assumptions that constitute a frame of reference for interpreting the meaning of an experience. One in particular experienced a 'disorienting dilemma' (Mezirow, 1990) that reoriented her entire life and provided an example of a nadir rather than a peak experience. The circumstances of the various experiences differ greatly, some being caused by altered states of consciousness, by reading certain books, by a constellation of particular life events or by being introduced to new information in a non-threatening way, in some cases by a role model.

Types of metaphor: relationship to the greater than human world

The types of metaphor these people now use to describe their relationship to the greater than human world can be seen in the following descriptions:

community of intelligence; nature as the music that's heard when the written symphony is played; a bouy, keeping the person afloat in a body of water; a hug, warm and strong; the sense of feeling loved when in nature, of having nothing to prove; and finally of being connected to nature through the physical body, and as such, observing and looking after her body carefully.

Relationship to other people

Secondly, metaphors these people now use to describe their relationship to other people include the notion of a club, involving members, certain rules that players choose, styles of play and a variety of score-keeping methods. It can also be a club of poverty and simplicity, and membership comes with the privilege of hanging out with others in the know. Other metaphors include the notion of fabric, through which are tightly woven strands of fear, making the experience of being part of human culture not always easy. Others used the metaphor of a play, a drama of our own creation. There was also mention of a team, with everyone doing their part, like in a symphony or playing a piece of classical music, in which everyone has a part to play, but an individual can carry a tune on their own too. Finally, one individual saw themselves as a catalyst, igniting others in their community, helping them to initiate their own creative practice. Conversely, this person felt spiritually balanced by the presence of certain close friends around her.

Relationship between frames of reference and ecological literacy

Finally, I present tentative assertions regarding the relationship between Mezirow's criteria for a more fully developed 'frame of reference' (Mezirow, 1991) and characteristics considered to represent enhanced ecological literacy (Orr, 1992). According to Mezirow, 'a more fully developed (more functional) frame of reference is one that is more (a) inclusive, (b) differentiating, (c) permeable, (d) critically reflective, and (e) integrative of experience.' (Mezirow, 1991). Let us consider what he might mean by these terms in light of the metaphors and experiences described above. Examples from those interviewed that might reflect a more inclusive approach would be the 'larger community of intelligence' description of the respondent's new understanding of the human-greater than human relationship.Others are the respondent who, rather than seeing 'nature as out there', likens it to a symphony that is both within and outwith her, and the person who felt part of a 'club', a sense of belonging to a wider community when considering her relationship to others. Each of these examples suggest a broad domain of inclusion in the respondents' conceptions of self in relation to other.

The criterion of increased permeability is shown in the nature of the transformative experiences themselves and the fact that they occured at all and were recalled as memorable turning points in the respondents' lives. That is to say that each individual's frame of reference was obviously sufficiently 'permeable' for their new realisation to occur. Had they been holding rigidly to a former worldview, then the catalysing circumstances would have had no effect, and they would have continued with their former worldview and corresponding behaviour.

The fourth criterion, critical reflection, is defined as the assessment of the validity of the presupposition of one's meaning perspectives, and examination of their sources and consequences (Mezirow, 1991). This was evidenced in several of the examples outlined above, including one respondent who likened their experience to discovering that there were many more rooms in the house they had to date been living in, than they had previously realised. On critical reflection, they chose to interpret their experience by saying 'I cannot know how many rooms are in this house,' rather than simply thinking 'oh, there are 5 rooms instead of 2'.

Finally, Mezirow's 'integrative of experience' criterion is shown in several of the above examples, and seems to pertain to the *relevance* of any particular experience to an individual. Several of the respondents said that it wasn't until they experienced an issue in a way that was relevant, bodily, to them, that they were able to integrate their new understanding into their daily lives, and consequently change their behaviour. One example of this was a respondent's decision to only use homeopathic and naturopathic treatment for illness, following the experience of the ineffectiveness of the strongest of antibiotics, right before an important event, for which the person had to be in good health. Before this, the debate about antibiotics had been interesting, but rather too complicated. How then, do these notions compare with those of ecological literacy?

Ecological literacy

Orr states that ecological literacy 'is that quality of mind that seeks out connections.... The ecologically literate person has the knowledge necessary to comprehend interrelatedness, and an attitude of care or stewardship. Such a person would also have the practical competence required to act on the basis of knowledge and feeling...Knowing, caring, and practical competence constitute the basis of ecological literacy.' (Orr, 1992). From the few examples above we can perhaps surmise that the respondents, by the metaphors they used, developed from their transformative experiences worldviews that recognise interrelatedness. Examples of this include the 'nature and self as symphony' metaphor, the community of intelligence, being part of the fabric of society, a member in a play, and of being on a team.

Contrast this to the interesting observation made by Bowers that the generative metaphors underlying three major approaches to liberal education all use the individual as the basic unit of thought. By Bowers' analysis, the thinking of Rogers is based on notions of the individual as 'free, authentic and self-creating' (Bowers, 1993). He contrasts this with the very different metaphor underlying Skinner's approach which evolved from behaviourism and which likened the individual to the laboratory pigeon, able to be coerced by positive and negative reinforcement. Finally Bowers describes the metaphor underlying the educational approach of Adler and Bloom as the individual, rational being capable of becoming a responsible democratic citizen, reflecting Bloom's view of rational humans at the top of the hierarchy, necessitating separation from the environment and control over it (Bowers, 1993). In none of these metaphors is interdependence implied, either with the social or greater than human world.

In addition, Orr quotes Garrett Hardin's definition of ecological literacy as the ability to ask "What then?". (Orr, 1992). Evidently, through critical reflection, several of the respondents changed their behaviour because they asked themselves 'what then?' in relation to some of their current actions. An example of this is the respondent who realised that plastic would still be on the planet in eons of time, and caring enough to ask herself what then?, lead her to decide never to use plastic again. The same was true of the respondent who could see the growing ineffectiveness of antibiotics, and so chose to use naturopathic remedies instead.

Conclusions

So we can see that the experiences of the respondents reflect many of the criteria constituting Mezirow's broader frame of reference and also reflect a degree of ecological literacy that is mirrored in the respondents' behaviour. Thus it appears we have much to learn from these light-footed individuals and the metaphors they use to describe their relational existence, especially when compared to the ecologically disruptive metaphors underlying some of society's most powerful socialising mechanisms, namely several of our educational models. I hope that this paper and the final PhD publication will represent a signigicant step forward in redressing the imbalanced relationship between humans and their socio-biological home, contributing to the re-construction of metaphorical language that reflects ecologically accurate beliefs and values, and hopefully contributing to the much-needed research on this seemingly forgotten, yet rather indispensable frontier.

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Dis-stanced learning: adult learners, Heidegger and spatiality

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Introduction

There is an expanding literature on the experience of adult learners (Edwards 1994), but that experience seems to take place in what David Harvey calls 'a spaceless world' (Harvey1975: 15). This paper suggests that the spatial element of adult learners' experiences must be understood as more than just context or background. One way of achieving this understanding might be to adopt a Heideggerian approach to spatiality. In *Being and Time* (Heidegger 1927/62), spatiality is an essential component of the being of humans, who produce spaces in the course of their everyday activity within their world. Research into this process of spatialisation may widen understanding of several experiential issues in adult education, such as empowerment, sstudent community and, most importantly, institutional atmosphere.

What I wish to explore here, therefore, is the phenomenon of space, as it is experienced by adult learners. Whilst space and spatiality can be understood in a variety of ways, I begin from the assumption that experience, for the embodied subject, is always experience-in-space (O'Loughlin 1998). Although there are links between the 'spatial turn' and post-modernism, notably in the work of Harvey (1990) and Soja (1989, 1996), I do not employ a post-modern conception of the de-centred or fragmented self (Johnston & Usher 1997). As feminist critics suggest, embodiment entails a rather more stable conception of the self, one in which the subject always speaks from 'some-where' (Haraway 1995). My research, therefore, takes account of the situated knowledge of actors, with the assumption that this knowledge can be recorded, reflected upon and critically assessed (Brookfield 1998). 'Situated knowledge' implies, in addition to its class, gender and other dimensions, some awareness of where it is coming from. As a reflective practitioner, I ought, then, to begin by giving a short account of my own spatial development.

The view from a ridge

I grew up in Edinburgh, a city organised around hills, especially the Pentland Hills forming its Southern boundary and the Firth of Forth sweeping out into the North Sea. Allowing for a post-modern spin on the Cartesian privilege of observers in high places, I was spatialised, made aware of space, by the hills and the distances that they opened up. When I eventually returned to formal education, Stirling, as a hill-foot university, had a special appeal. Stirling was at the end of my childhood arc, in the farthest distance, backed up against the Ochils. It was part of an escape route into the Highlands. Its isolation from home was helpful in the sense that failure would not be seen, but there was also a lack of involvement at first. I did not know anybody. Everyone seemed to be part of some community to which I did not belong. Such was my space as a mature student.

The view from the hills in Edinburgh was not just a panorama of the city but was also an outlook, in the multiple senses in which Patrick Geddes uses the term (White 1998:125), on the incredibly diverse and complex project of urban existence, the struggle for living-room. As for my outlook on the space of the university, an exchange year at the University of California, Berkeley, gave me the chance to compare two very different campuses. There were different people, to be sure, but the spaces (or was it their atmospheres?) were qualitatively different as well. Diversity is always good, and the spaces were indeed diverse, but this difference in atmosphere intrigued me. Consequently, one of the themes of my research, which will be discussed below, is the atmosphere of higher education institutions.

Of course, I have not always regarded space as something to be theorised. The chance acquisition of Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (1974/91) was the catalyst there. There was also, however, an interest in the concrete and the particular, the naming of names. Simmel has pointed out that every definable space is unique (Simmel 1901, in Frisby 1997), and that uniqueness goes against the generalising emptiness of much theoretical discussion, which fails to grasp the 'here and now', or the 'there and then'. My situation as a white, semi-Scottish, semi-male can be re-interpreted, for example, in terms of post-colonialism, but I cannot escape what Heidegger calls my 'thrown-ness' (1927/62:236), the way in which one is always already in some form of space. Consequently, I enter the hermeneutic circle - I must explore space from within.

Towards an analytical framework - Heidegger and spatiality

Space comes in more than fifty-seven varieties. Lefebvre alone refers to at least ninety, of which physical, social, mental and representational spaces are but four. Rather than attempt to define each variety, I adopt a constructionist approach to spatiality. That is, while there is 'worldstuff' out there, any meaning or spatial organisation that it has arises from human engagement and interpretation (Humphrey 1993:17). This applies at all levels, from cosmology to the kitchen sink. Kristen Ross describes the feelings of terror and disorientation induced in prisoners brought into interrogation centres - ordinary dwelling houses - during the Algerian war (Ross, 1994). The use of basins, electrical fittings and empty bottles for torture, reversing their normal domestic purposes, rendered these spaces *unheimlich*, a total reversal of the homely evocations to be found in Bachelard's poetic spaces (Bachelard, 1964/94).

This uncanny sense of anxiety is also used by Heidegger as a means of accessing the human way of being-in-the-world (1927/62: 233). His treatment of spatiality makes it a primordial component of being-in-the-world. This is part of his project, in *Being and Time* , to show that temporality is the ultimate horizon of being. The relationship between spatiality and temporality in his work as a whole is ultimately unsatisfactory (Dostal 1993: 165). Nevertheless, the discussion of spatiality in *Being and Time* is a fruitful source of ideas, leading, for example, to Giddens' concept of 'space-time compression' (Giddens 1991) and to aspects of the radical work on space and gender of Luce Irigaray (Irigaray 1987). In seeking to move beyond Cartesian subject/object distinctions, Heidegger proposes that spatiality is only meaningful against the horizon of the human life-world. For Heidegger, 'space is not in the subject, nor is the world in space' (1927/62: 146). Human actions do not occur *in* space, but themselves constitute spaces.

It is our concern or involvement as humans which creates a world, and 'world' is only meaningful for reflexively self-conscious beings. Heidegger uses the term *Dasein* to represent the human 'way of being', and this way of being, the 'here' and 'there' of *Da-*, is what world is (Fell 1979:32). Spatiality is thus the human way of putting wordly things into place.

In his later essay *Building Dwelling Thinking* , Heidegger gives the following example of what he means by the 'there' of *Dasein:*

> When I go toward the door of the lecture hall, I am already there, and I could not go to it at all if I were not such that I am there. I am never here only, as this encapsulated body; rather, I am here that is, I already pervade the space of the room, and only thus can I go through it (1954/1993: 359)

What Heidegger means is that he is concerned with the door as part of a referential totality. Doors, windows, walls, chairs and other handy objects work together to make up this referential totality, which he terms a 'region' (Arisaka, 1994: 458). A door standing in the middle of a field is meaningless, except as an artwork. I can go through a door because I am concerned with it. At a deep level, I am aware of the function of doors as boundary markers and as ways of entering spaces. I am aware, again at a deep level, of the difference in function between doors and windows. At a slightly higher level of awareness, I undestand that I should probably not go through that particular door until the lecture is finished. In the university, one knocks on some doors but not others, some doors are left open, others are kept closed. Some of these understandings hold in the region of the university, others hold in the generic region of 'buildings'.

The key word in the paragraph cited above is 'pervade'. It is shared and private understandings which pervade the room and spatialise it. The room as object persists whether someone is there or not, but it is constituted as a space when someone is concerned with it, however remotely. From Heidegger's 'I am thereÉand also here', we can see that the space is constantly confirmed in its functional relevance by the actions and understandings of its occupants, and others who may be concerned with it in some way, such as the janitors. It may well function for me even when I am not there, as a potential study space or somewhere to leave unwanted furniture. In such a case I still pervade the room, because it is still within my world of concerns. The same process of spatialisation can be shown to apply even in situations where space is electronically mediated, such as virtual chat rooms. Virtual space is pervaded by those who use it, and it would not constitute a space were it not for the bodies at its periphery, sitting at their screens.

The degree to which one pervades, or permeates, a space is clearly somewhat variable. As an educational researcher, I would have difficulty pervading the space of a nuclear physics laboratory, or a tropical rainforest. I might understand the function of the doors in the former and the trees in the latter, but I would not understand, or be at home in, either of these regions to the same extent as their normal inhabitants. I would not, therefore, pervade the space to the same degree. This points to the possibility of slippage between shared senses of public space and individual perspectives on that space (Arisaka, 1994: 461). In both cases, my sense of space, or my spatialisation, is unrelated to metrical distance. In the rainforest, to travel a hundred metres might take me hours, whereas on the motorway the same distance takes seconds.

Heidegger's term for this process of spatialisation is *ent-fernung*, variously translated as 'de-severance', 'remotion' or dis-stancing'. Dis-stancing might be described as the process of 'locking-on' to a destination or object in order to approach it or put it in its place. More than this, it is the primordial basis on which the ability to make spatial judgements or measurements is predicated. When I set out on a journey, I do not usually measure off the miles or metres in such-and-such a direction, but concern myself with the 'between', the places or terrain which constitute the journey. This is what is meant by 'pervading the space': when I catch a train from Edinburgh to Stirling, I am already there.

Proximity, mobility and possession

In order to make use of this way of conceptualising space, I suggest that degrees of pervasion might be more easily thought of as degrees of proximity. One who is in close proximity to the university is at home there, is able to navigate it successfully. The study of proximity is sometimes referred to as 'proxemics' (Boden & Molotch, 1994), in which instance it refers to the effect on human relations of relative distance. In this case I suggest that, for students, proximity is a function of their *mobility* and their sense of ownership, or *possession*, of spaces. As largely incommensurable values, these need to be explored independently of each other, but can be related using proximity as a bridging concept. I will briefly consider each of these terms before going on to examine the value and application of proximity itself.

Students' mobility is high in relation to the university when there are minimal constraints on their access, such as in the case of students living on-campus, or single mature students with cars. Embodiment is, however, the embodiment of difference, and shared understandings of space are frequently normative assumptions. Thus, for disabled students, the campus university may be an obstacle course in which a normative spatiality breaks down. Wheelchair users become, in Michael Dorn's phrase, spatial dissidents (Dorn, 1998). Equally, there may be temporal constraints on mobility caused by work or child-care commitments. The provision of part-time and evening programmes, distance and on-line learning, outreach schemes and other initiatives can be seen as attempts to substitute institutional flexibility for personal mobility, although their effect may not always be to achieve this. There may even be advantages in requiring students to be mobile. The experience of Open University summer schools (Clarke, Morgan-Klein, Raffe & Schuller 1998), and collaborative Ed.D programmes delivered collaboratively at the Universities of Stirling and Glasgow, indicates that in some cases, students may benefit from an enhanced sense of community in these situations.

This sense of 'student community' is a measure of what I propose to call 'possession', the degree to which students feel that they belong in an institutional or other educational setting. It could also be described as ownership or involvement. Part-time students may have high mobility in terms of their spatial arrangements but may also experience a low degree of possession due to a lack of social interaction. Empirical work in progress at the University of Stirling bears this out: part-time postgraduates' sense of involvement is unrelated to physical distance but correlates strongly with the availablity of supervisory support and contact with other postgraduates (Gray, 1999a) Whilst this might seem obvious, it is an issue which is rarely addressed by those planning course structures or accomodation arrangements. In particular, part-time students perceive that there are others who have their own exclusive spaces, such as the Students Union. Similar effects are observed amongst nurse students. Due to the recent transfer of nurse education from an FE college on to the campus at Stirling, nurse students become conscious of a space which is perceived as culturally and academically richer than that of the college, leading to changes in classroom behaviour. This effect is even more marked for nurse students at the Highland Campus, where the effect of their geographical remoteness is to idealise the space of the main University. (Gray, 1999b).

Although the rhetoric of student-centredness and empowerment in higher and further education would seem to be intended to increase students' sense of ownership, this is not necessarily the case. Bates (1998) demonstrates the danger of an uncritical adoption of this rhetoric of empowerment. Bates suggests that, for some students, the classroom is a site of empowerment only insofar as it offers an opportunity to demonstrate resistance. This can be in the form of absenteeism, disruption, or refusal to complete assignments. The students involved are thus simultaneously empowered (on their own terms) and dis-empowered (in relation to the education system). The classroom thus becomes a contested space, highlighting the fluid boundaries between shared public space and individual perspectives towards it.

Conclusions: into the atmosphere

The contested space which Bates describes undoubtedly has its own atmosphere. It is impossible to have an atmosphere without a space. Or is 'atmosphere' really a way of describing the space of the university itself? Even the Open University has its atmosphere, spread across Summer Schools, television programmes and tutoring networks. A recent study of part-time Higher Education came to the initially-surprising conclusion that, according to its students, the Open University had the best atmosphere of any of the institutions under consideration (Clark, Morgan-Klein, Raffe and Schuller 1998). From a Heideggerian perspective this conclusion might not be so surprising. The OU uses a combination of distance-learning and intensive participatory activity. Its students either find that the university comes to them, or that when they go to the university, the learning process is inclusive, focused and convivial. The struggle to achieve proximity, to dis-stance oneself from the institution, is avoided, because the Open University is just that: an open space, easily permeated by learners. (Note here that I am not referring to barriers to participation, but to the post-admission experience of learners.)

Can we conclude, then, that 'institutional atmosphere' is synonymous with (learning) space, and, if so, is this more that a semantic exercise? I would argue that it is. The study of space and spatiality has, until recently, been divided between architects, planners, geographers, philosophers and mathematicians. Radical thinkers such as Heidegger and Lefebvre have had little influence on the philosophy and organisation of the learning space. A few educational researchers, such as Fraser (1986) have studied classroom environment, but most of this work treats the phenomenon of space itself as unproblematic, using a Cartesian framework which cannot capture the 'between', that which, to use a Heideggerian expression, 'worlds' subject and object. It is this 'between' which Heidegger pursues so relentlessly, and which is the bridge to better spatial understanding.

What Heidegger tells us about space is, for all its baroque folds and elaborations, relatively simple. We do not 'come alongside' a space such as that of the university, nor is it a fishtank with a definite 'in' and 'out'. Instead, we permeate it, we dis-stance ourselves from it, we engage with it, and thus 'make the farness vanish' (Heidegger, 1927/62: 139). As one becomes a spatialising student (Barnett, 1996), the university becomes a world. Because it is maintained as a space not by the funding bodies but by the activities of all its participants, questions of proximity, mobility and possession are vital to its continuing health. To summarise, then, I should like to present four provisional conclusions:

1) Participants in an institution produce the spaces of the institution.
2) Atmosphere is not an optional extra, but is a manifestation of the quality of these spaces.
3) Efforts should be made to ensure that all participants enjoy a high degree of proximity to their institutions.
4) Flexibility and mobility need to be considered together in order to enhance proximity. Public transport, childcare, catering and computer facilities are some of the factors involved.

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Shaping learning through space: the case of outdoor management training

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This paper explores the relationship between experiential learning theory and the development of managers in the context of outdoor management programmes. It begins with an exploration of the contours and boundaries of competing paradigms in management education. We discuss the development of programmes grounded in adult learning theory and analyse the outcomes of one such programme at a particular business school. The suitability and effectiveness of the outdoors as a learning environment is evaluated, using feedback, student reflections and assessments.

Introduction

The outdoors has, for many decades been used as an environment for management training courses. These range from Outward Bound programmes which began during the second world war to programmes which form part of the development of senior management competences. Implicit within much of the literature on management training is the notion of management as a professional activity for which individuals can be trained through structured activities. There is less emphasis on the educative aspects of management development programmes. Yet, it is in university business schools and management departments where much of such development takes place. The managerialist paradigm, which views management education as a means of developing the skills, competencies and capabilities of managers, has long been dominant in business schools. This focus was reinforced by reports into management education (Constable and McCormick, 1987; Handy, 1987) and the subsequent development of competence-based standards MCI, 1992, 1997).

French and Grey (1996) identify two further broad paradigms in management education – critical and humanist. Within the critical school, management and management teaching are scrutinised and analysed from a perspective, which is not concerned with improving the way in which organisations are managed. Critical theory includes neo-Marxist interpretations, focusing on concepts of management as a political process, post-modern approaches which view management discourses as a social construct and feminism, where the central concern is organisational gender inequalities. Humanism, with its roots in human relations theory, may be thought of as contributing to both the managerialist and critical perspectives. Certainly, humanist concepts and research from the Hawthorne experiments (Mayo, 1933) to ideas of organisational learning (Senge, 1990; Pedler and others, 1997) form much of the theoretical underpinning of many business school programmes in organisational behaviour.

Education and training

The above typology has resonances of a much older debate between instrumental and liberal education. In management development the words *training* and *education* are often used interchangeably and there are clear overlaps between the two. To evaluate the extent to which the outdoors can contribute to management education it is necessary to begin with operational definitions, which distinguish between education and training.

Reid and Barrington (1994 : 45) argue that education and training differ in the following ways:

- *In the degree to which their objectives can be specified in behavioural terms*
- *In the time normally taken to realise learning objectives*
- *In their methods and content of learning*

- *In the context within which the learning materials are used.*

Traditionally, educational objectives are less specific and tend to focus more on the person than the task. They have a longer time scale, measured in years or a lifetime rather than weeks or months. Education employs methods of learning which are organic rather than mechanistic (Tannehill, 1970) and the content emphasises theory and concepts rather than job-specific knowledge, skills and attitudes. The context of learning also influences the focus; a health and safety programme may be training for supervisors but education for management students.

The Dearing Report laid out the purposes of higher education:

- *To inspire and enable individuals to develop their capabilities to the highest potential levels throughout life, so that they can grow intellectually, are well equipped for work, can contribute effectively to society and achieve personal fulfilment;*
- *To increase knowledge and understanding for their own sake and to foster their application for the benefit of the economy and society;*
- *To serve the needs of an adaptable, sustainable, knowledge-based economy at local, regional and national levels;*
- *To play a major role in shaping a democratic, civilised, inclusive society.*

(NCIHE, 1997. Summary Report, 23)

For the purposes of making judgements about the educative nature of management learning, we shall use the Dearing criteria as indicative features of educational as opposed to training programmes, together with the following:

- The use of theories and conceptual frameworks which stimulate analytical and evaluative skills
- Consideration of critical research into management and management education

Historical perspective

Modern outdoor development originated in the Outward Bound movement. In 1941 Kurt Hahn used the outdoors to provide a learning environment through which sailors could recognise and achieve their potential (Irvine and Wilson, 1994). Modern Outward Bound courses reflect those original objectives:

> Outward Bound is intended to be catalytic; to encourage change and to help each participant more fully to achieve self-knowledge and understanding of others. It embraces both personal development and preparation for life in society. (Putnam, 1994)

It was from these educational beginnings that outdoor development emerged in the 1970s as a mechanism for developing managers and organisations. Today, outdoor management development is used extensively (6%) or occasionally (32%) by a third of British corporations (Financial Times, 9.1.1995). The most commonly cited objectives of such programmes are increasing self-esteem, leadership skills, problem-solving ability, decision-making, team-building and personal development (Wagner and others, 1991).

The claims made for outdoor management development are extensive and are reflected in advertisements in professional magazines for the large number of providers. There has, however, been very little evaluation of the effectiveness of such programmes. Mazany, Francis and Smith (1995) cite ten studies without any objective measures of effectiveness, a finding that is echoed by others (Buller and others, 1991; Irvine and Wilson, 1994; Burletson and Grint, 1996). In those studies, where evaluation of effectiveness has taken place, this has focused largely on the transfer of learning to the workplace (McGraw, 1993; Wagner and Campbell, 1994). This reflects the fact that many programmes are financed by organisations as part of management development initiatives. It emphasises the managerialist paradigm, which dominates management education in general and outdoor management training in particular.

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Before examining the rationale for using the outdoors as an environment for management development, it is useful to distinguish between two types of programme, as the emphasis has an impact on the validity of the rationale. Programmes, which take managers from a range of organisations or from different parts of the same organisation, may be thought of as *manager* development programmes. Here the emphasis is on personal development through critical insight and a focus on interpersonal skills. Corporate programmes may be thought of as *management* development. Here the focus is on building teams of people who work together.

Critiques of outdoor management development

The rationale for using the outdoors as an environment for management training may be summarised as follows:

- The outdoors provides novel activities in an unfamiliar setting, which heightens awareness of interpersonal behaviour. (Irvine and Wilson, 1994)
- There is an element of real danger, which stimulates radically new forms of thought. (Pettigrew, 1974)
- The outdoor environment tends to eliminate much of the role conflict so common in office settings and forces participants to act in a much more honest and transparent way. (Wagner and Campbell, 1994)

The outdoors provides opportunities which allow managers to learn through three interrelated processes: cognition, emotions and behaviour (Schein, 1993). It is argued that the experiential activities which are integral to outdoor management development are more powerful than traditional methods (Mullen, 1992).

Burletson and Grint (1996) take up the idea that outdoor activities are devoid of traditional norms. Their ethnographic studies conclude that many outdoor management programmes are not novel and, in some cases, merely replicate the politics of office life. Irvine and Wilson (1994) endorse this view and also dismiss the notion that physical injury is a real risk. Potential litigation has ensured that the risk of serious physical injury has been minimised in most programmes but perceived danger and psychological risk remain. It is, perhaps, the combination of novelty, unfamiliarity and a degree of psychological risk, which creates an aura of difference in outdoor management development programmes. Decisions made tend to have immediate and potentially uncomfortable consequences. The process of establishing fresh norms may give insights into behaviour, which more conventional learning settings may not allow. The argument that the outdoors alone can create the conditions where behaviour is unconstrained by existing roles and relationships is much more powerful in the case of corporate programmes than in the case of programmes designed to develop individual managers.

Few of the outdoor management development programmes described in the literature are based on rigorous theoretical foundations. There is often, a naïve belief in the character building nature of outdoor adventure programmes and of the transfer of learning to the world of work. Where programmes are planned, using established concepts of adult learning, there are indications that such programmes may come nearer to meeting the educational criteria we set out above.

Irvine and Wilson (1994) consider such issues as appropriate levels of stress, the extent to which training reflects the working environment, the types of skills utilised and process review as part of Kolb's learning cycle. They suggest that effective outdoor management development meets the following criteria:

- It is likely to be novel.
- It involves psychological risk – trusting others.
- Activities match individual needs and can be made more complex.
- It reflects the workplace environment.
- There is an emphasis on managerial, not activity skills.
- The experience can be reviewed.

McGraw (1993) argues that, in addition to organisational barriers to the transfer of learning, individual learning styles may not be suited to outdoor management development programmes. He suggests that short sessions on theories of leadership, teambuilding and personal development may help those, whose learning styles are neither activist nor pragmatist. Theory and reflection may provide a more balanced approach to learning than experiential activities alone.

Mazany, Francis and Smith (1995) used Kolb's learning cycle (1976) and the three processes of cognitive, emotional and behavioural learning to design an outdoor workshop for the University of Auckland MBA programme. The workshops included icebreaking exercises, learning teams, creative problem solving, skits and debriefings, where participants were allowed to analyse and reflect on their efforts to solve problems as a team. An evaluation, involving pre- and post-workshop case studies and a control group demonstrated the following changes:

- A more consensus-oriented decision-making process
- More active, equal participation
- More member satisfaction with team output
- Improved intra-group communication
- Greater commitment, more enjoyment

Although these examples address the criticisms levelled at outdoor management development programmes, which focus on the lack of theoretical underpinning, there are a number of other concerns. Some of these are more illusory than real. Physical danger is not significant on most programmes, as long as basic health and safety precautions are adopted. Nonetheless, in a litigious world, emotional and psychological stress may be very real concerns. Equal opportunities legislation has implications for access to outdoor training in terms of race, gender and disability. As Clements, Wagner and Roland (1995) point out, this raises questions about fair treatment based on abilities not related to people's jobs. They also raise concerns about activities, which require people to touch each other. Older managers, those with dependent relatives and those who work unsocial hours may be disadvantaged on outdoor programmes, which are typically held in the country at weekends and may involve strenuous activity.

It was with the above rationales, critiques and issues in mind that the authors designed and modified an outdoor management development programme, which has run for the last ten years at a Business School in the North West of England

Certificate in Management outdoor development programme.

The Certificate in Management Programme described in this paper includes a mandatory two day weekend residential programme, based on a series of outdoor activities and designed around the learning models described above, with a particular emphasis on Kolb's learning cycle. Its aims were to introduce key concepts of teambuilding to line managers and to develop relevant transferable management skills and encourage their application in the workplace. The programme used criteria from the Management Standards and personal competencies, based on the Management Charter Initiative model (1997).

Participants were introduced to group behavioural and process theories and models prior to the weekends in away similar to that described by McGraw (1993). Large and small group activities were used throughout the programme. These activities were in unfamiliar outdoor surroundings to provide a challenge, but ensured equality of opportunity by offering activities that did not all focus on physical activities. Review sessions were held during and after the programme. Assessment and feedback were based on tutor observation, peer assessment and self-assessment by means of a reflective assignment completed immediately after the programme. An action learning approach was taken and participants were encouraged to perform a task, reflect on their performance, relate it to theory and to use the new knowledge and skills in both their social and working lives.

From the outset the programme was designed with a reflective element (Kolb, 1976). Over a ten-year period the activities and outcomes were reviewed by tutors and participants and appropriate modifications made. For the first three years the aims of the programme were shared with the participants prior to its start. However, the aims of the participants were not made explicit and emerged only after the programme in individual reflective analyses, completed as part of the assessment process. The programme was modified in the fourth year and participants were asked in the first activity to write out their individual and group aims and concerns and to share these with all members.

Care had been taken since the inception of the programme to ensure that none of the activities were of high risk (Irvine and Watson, 1994) and, because of this, additional insurance was not required. The programme had never been envisaged as a physical test but as a vehicle for learning team skills. However, the issue of equal opportunities was not fully explored until relatively recently. The programme had been designed to be safe for people with conditions such as asthma, back troubles and pregnancy and, although contingencies were in place for persons with other needs, no participants with disabilities had attended the programme. This was largely a reflection on the nature of the organisations, from which the participants came and was not a representative cross-section of society. It was not until the seventh year that we had experience of registered disabled people attending the weekend. It was through their contributions that we were able to modify the programme further, allowing people to choose activities, based on their own capabilities and learning needs. Qualified helpers were also provided for disabled participants if they wished.

Another modification made in the same year was the removal of some of the *apparent* danger. This was made explicit to participants in a briefing session prior to the weekend, explaining that there would be no hidden surprises and that the most physically demanding task would be a two-mile walk. Participant concerns had emerged in the first exercise of the weekend when many people wrote that they were anxious about having to abseil, climb, swim or even have spies in their group. These concerns had arisen through negative previous experiences on outdoor management development programmes, from colleagues' anecdotes and from documentaries such as the Ridgeway programme.

The consequent modification of the programme design to fit individual learning needs more closely had some interesting outcomes. With a choice of tasks, some participants chose to try and test themselves by engaging in riskier activities, such as making presentations or learning new skills such as map-reading. (Pettigrew, 1974) Others chose to remain in their comfort zone and consolidate their skills. On a more negative note, some participants, who had recognised prior to the weekend that they needed practice in areas such as oral presentation, feeding back or chairing a group, chose to forgo those opportunities. Self-assessment was emphasised as being an important aspect of the activity because of a tendency for people to *perform* when being assessed by tutors or peers. There was no grading of the weekend to encourage a focus on self-development and an exploration of the relationship between attitude and performance.

Participants were asked to submit a personal reflection and analysis of the programme and its effect on the individual and the group. They were also asked to comment on the relevance of its application to their workplace and how it related to management concepts and models. (McGraw, 1993)
Strongly emerging themes common to all programmes were:

- People are eager to learn about themselves and develop individual and team skills
- People are anxious about the unknown and unexpected
- The programme had highlighted the need for continued learning
- Planning, communication and organising are important in forming effective teams
- Feedback and evaluation are crucial
- Peer feedback is a powerful tool
- Building a team is complex; sometimes anger and frustration occur
- Working in large groups is difficult; sometimes strong personalities take over and chaos may ensue
- The experience helped reinforce theoretical learning about teams
- All participants felt that they had learned something; most felt positive about themselves, even where there were self-identified weaknesses, which needed working on.

Conclusions

The emerging themes clearly demonstrate that outdoor management development programmes can fulfil both educational and training roles. The themes reflect the purposes of higher education, which Dearing set out. One of our further criteria is also met. The use of theories and conceptual frameworks stimulated the development of analytical skills. This was demonstrated in participant reflective reports, particularly in the areas of personal competencies and group roles. However, the programmes are still firmly located within a managerialist paradigm; there are few concessions to critical theory, although humanist perspectives are apparent, both in the theories and models employed and in the reflective reports prepared by participants. It is also clear from these reports that the outdoor environment can stimulate learning under appropriate conditions. Learning is improved if the purpose of learning is clear and understood by all involved. The outdoors is stimulating because of its unfamiliarity, but physical challenges can inhibit learning. Tasks, which require skills of team-working, problem-solving and creativity, provide more relevant learning opportunities than overtly physical tasks. Structure, relevance and perceived transferability are important features of effective outdoor programmes. Those, which in their design, address individual differences through choice, can obviate some of the equal opportunities issues, which often beset such programmes.

The experiential activities, the structured learning cycle approach and the powerful combination of cognitive, behavioural and emotional learning, which are focal to the programmes described, provide the potential for shaping learning in a unique and enduring way. The process of continuous review ensures that programmes are updated in the light of experience to provide current and relevant learning opportunities.

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Lucretius & Kennedy : between the devil and the deep blue sea

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> With all my heart I long that you should shun this fault of reasoning
> Through prudent fear and foresight in advance
> Don't ever think that eyes were made
> In order that the human race might have the power to see.
> Don't ever think that thighs or legs, based on the feet
> Were made to bend that man might take long steps.
> Don't ever think that forearms, joined to upper hands and arms
> Were given us as servants either side
> That we might do the things that serve our life.
> Ideas like this, which men proclaim, are false in reasoning,
> Abysmally confound effect with cause.
>
> ***De rerum natura*, 5. 146 ff. [1]**

The contribution of philosophy to adult education debates is often at the level of working ideas. There is nothing contentious in saying that these ideas are historically specific and shaped a great deal by bigger and broader changes. Yet the focus is on basic concepts and definitions and the tradition might be traced back to Socrates in his many exchanges with the Sophists. Through the dialectic, Socrates helped 'birth' clear definitions and where no such definition could be made, then deeper insights are gleaned in the 'aporia' – often translated as 'no way forward'. Whatever the outcome of a dialogue, the 'theorizing' could not be separated from the very act of 'practice' [2] and ordinary civic life. Post-war philosophers have gotten into far narrower exchanges (too often with themselves) about things like the comparative value of X amount of 'education' say ... as against Y amount of 'training'. Going over these old conceptual differences of education and training [3] gives results which are not always necessary. But this I want to avoid and in keeping with one of the themes of the conference this year, I want to argue for a view on reality that involves grasping the essential natures of complex natural things like people and so forth, as opposed to the grasping distinctions between training and education. The finest exponent is Aristotle. I want to highlight the philosophy that can and the philosophy that cannot grasp the idea of needs as they relate to natural complex things like humans. Limitations of space deem that this view can only be suggested in highlighting the inadequacies of atomism. My interests come out of the way we see space and time in adult education [4] and the implications for our positions as we plough through documents that now shape our work. This is something that is particularly important for us now because some good stuff does occasionally come our way - as in various reports recently. But approaching these documents critically says as much about how we make ourselves as it does about how we make our world. The focus is on one recent publication and a late Roman poem : the poem, *De rerum natura*, by Lucretius; and *Learning Works* by Helena Kennedy (1997) QC for the FEFC. I want to say that they are extremely similar in some interesting ways, though of course almost 2000 years separates the two documents. But the Roman does throw light on the modern here. In fact, I choose the former because it has within it the outlook which is more typical of an eighteenth or nineteenth century European Enlightenment document than any actual document of the Enlightenment period [6]. Its in this outlook the that the appeal of the message is gained and maybe explained a wee bit. It kicks in particularly after Newton and it has had an increasing influence in modern times. I choose the latter simply because it shows the way lifelong learning is now shaped [7] in keeping with this narrow, instrumental imagery that does not come out of Lucretius but is often traced back to that poem. Where the Roman holds a clear atomistic theory, Kennedy promotes unitisation and so forth. Yet I characterise Kennedy along with Lucretius as atomist because they both advance a certain sort of person or self [8]. They make up a scenario where neither individual people nor communities have real natures: they are aggregates of atoms and spaces at different levels (though Lucretius gives a poem that has an amazing start). With the best of intentions I believe, purpose and agency somehow get pushed out of the picture, and they leave the lifeworld and learning between a rock and a very hard place [9]. This I would suggest is a limiting space for the social imagination to occupy. In work targeting the conditions of 'social exclusion' this becomes a significant inhibition.

Atomism and the modern malaise

In trying to make my main point, I very quickly mention the work of the Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor [10], who looks at the social policy thinking that is rampant in modernity and the intellectual currents shifting them. In following these trends he highlights the tendency for us to become increasingly disengaged with the reality we are creating in this thought. Taylor's focus is the modern self [11], where he writes of the 'malaise' of modernity. Human agency is played down amongst these bigger forces and he explains that this comes out in elements of contemporary culture and society where we experience a loss or decline even as things develop. Taylor specifies this to be in: i) individualism or the loss of meaning, ii) instrumental reason or the eclipse of ends, and iii) soft despotism or loss of freedom. Society's self-imposed captivity to technology and instrumental forms of reason I take to be the order of the day now. This is in the belief that technology will save mankind, that humanity is waiting and longing for just those new technologies which will solve all human problems. I take it that the ontological outlook which lends itself most to all this is in the doctrine first attributed to Democritus and Lucretius, where reality is believed to be composed of simple and unchangeable minute particles. Used in political and social philosophy, the outlook assumes that any community that exists is the consensual product of individuals best understood as 'political atoms'. Atomism then becomes something consistent with social contract theories and their various forms of legalism. Is has to be pointed out, however, that this outlook is not compatible with the idea of civic virtues. I take all this that is in Taylor's critique of our time and put this forward as the first premise of the argument in this paper. The second premise is a more detailed focus on atomism as a misrepresentation of social reality, and even a degenerate representation of that reality. Essentialism works on the idea of irreducible wholes. In the case of humans the wholes have real natures. Atomism on the other hand is a reductionist theory. It reduces things to basic existents : atoms and the void. They are the basic building blocks or units from which everything is made. They are neither destroyed nor created and remain throughout time. Lucretius writes one of the first documents, and certainly the first poem declaring it openly to follow an atomic theory [12]. The message is so miserable that the poetic form becomes important if the message is to be embraced. So the intent behind the poetic form is that it should lead the reader gently into a stark confrontation with bare reality. Lucretius wants his reader to face up to the truth of that 'reality' in the only way that matters : a clear scientific realism. It is without colour or depth but taking this on then allows the human to really get to grip with things 'in truth' and to operate in life accordingly. By the time Hobbes and Locke come along the outlook of atomism takes on a social contract form. The jurist, Judith Sklar (1986), terms the thought that follows as 'legalist' [13] and the approach comes to dominate social policy more and more. This is where all social relations are subject to regulation in the form of endless quasi-legislative reports and recommendations. This is in the social imaginary. It maintains equity and accountability in a world of humans operating as 'social atoms' and as such their rights, duties and autonomy are laid down in contracts or charters. But according to Meijers (1998) all this is about agency:

> ... the philosophy of mind and action: that between social holism and atomism [where the distinction involves] our very conception of an individual agent. How should we understand individual agency, and what is individual about it ? ... individual agents operate at the

> intersection between the social, physical and biological world. The challenge is to be more precise about the relations between these different domains.

The challenge of shaping agency and social reality in adult education work is one that has an incredible history. It has been aligned to the aims and ambitions of various social movements. Many of those old alliances are no longer there. Yet we still have to ask some of the old questions about how we as individual agents see things and how we would like to change realities in our work. The questions involved are surely not just about teaching and curriculums and the answers we give may contribute to the dreadful apathy described by Charles Taylor.

The outlook of the Kennedy Report has proved amazingly influential. The FEFC will receive £41 million, on top of the millions it has already received, in the year 2000 for widening participation. The windfall came after Kennedy's recommendations. The report mainly addressed the FE sector and funding has followed that focus, however some of the observations and recommendations extend into adult and continuing education in higher education. I do not deny that there are some good points in Kennedy concerning areas like FE and HE collaboration but my aim here is a critique. My argument is that as Kennedy is against unemployment, social inequality and poverty, and also I assume, against all the old empty left wing responses to those problems she is then driven into an impasse that is exactly the same as Lucretius and the inevitable consequence of an atomist theory. This raises all kinds of questions about the outlook we hold on our work whilst concerned with the same problems as Kennedy and with similar past alliances with left wing politics.

Bill Williamson (1998) says that 'those who seek to provide greater educational opportunities for adults must seek to do so in ways which build upon an understanding, not only of personal interests of different people, but of **how they make sense of change, in their own lives and in their society**'. These are people with real natures shaping real desires and needs. Kennedy on the other hand puts forward proposals for new 'learning programmes', constructed around the aggregate demands of a new learners' charter. In themselves these proposals are obviously very good for getting out information and so forth. But as some sort of representation of the way that the lifelong learning problem is being seen, they are miserable and it is here that Kennedy is lacking. It promotes an image of people and their communities as things becoming almost slavish to lifelong learning programmes if they are to succeed in life, or at least not be left behind. Needless to say that the shortest section in the whole report is on the 'Barriers to Participation' where the logic of instrumentalism can say so little. Kennedy is excellent on crèche facilities that are too often left out of the lifelong learning literature.

Lucretius: the power of *ratio*

The peculiar nature of politics in Lucretius is in not one section of his poem [16] but the poem as a whole. Lucretius, I would suggest, pursues three imperatives: that driving the necessity for a user friendly treatment of Epicurean doctrines, the fight against religion and the poetic principle of Lucretius himself in the bitter (message of the poem) and sweet (poetic form). In some way pursuing these doctrines makes him different and yet still close to Epicuras himself. Both saw human progress in the project of freeing the human mind from the binds of religion. This makes them both close to the post-Enlightenment mission that shapes modernity. They both pursue a line on physical reality that is in agreement with Democratean physics. The physics in question of course is atomism. It has everything that 'is', simply down to atoms and the void. But there is far more to it and this comes out in the poem by Lucretius. Atomism was a scientific hypothesis brilliantly summing up two hundred years of physical speculation. Epicureanism on the other hand, whilst it accepted atomism as on the whole a true description of physical reality, was also a philosophy of man and society. Nichols (1976) says 'it is above all a teaching about human life, about how men can lead the best life possible and the kind of knowledge they must have in order to do so'. Yet it came out of the Greek's loss of political prestige, which in turn produced a strange, cold quiet in late Roman intellectual life that provided some sort of refuge from the more active life prescribed by Aristotle and his predecessors. This was in the Stagirite's teleology. At the beginning of the second book (II. 1-61) we see Lucretius attaching great importance to detachment from life in order to appraise true and permanent values. The life-world is contingent and messy. The motive is to 'see life steadily and see it whole'. The focus remains on the rights of the individual and the salvation of the individual coming through the redemption of society. The State absorbs the individual so that the welfare of the latter becomes the welfare of the former. Collectivism is seen as having its guiding light in individualism. But Lucretius does not mention any organisation of society. He does not go in for anything like the elaborate consideration of social and economic problems that we find, say, in Plato's *Republic*. Instead, Lucretius answers the call of the 'simple life' responding to the two imperatives of Nature, being a body free from pain, and a soul free from care and fear of death in what might happen in the afterlife. Reason (*ratio*) alone, as Lucretius saw it, could save humans, and not the kindness of any divine power. Denials of providence and of the immortality of the soul were essentials for Epicurean speculation. Thus begins the second book with its individualism, in its search for happiness, in its sensuousness and it basic acceptance of Epicurean dogmas. Yet it is also Stoic in its simplicity and acceptance of responsibility, human and eternal, in promoting the values of this simple life. The poem proceeds:

> This terror of the mind and the shadows that surround
> Neither the rays of the sun nor the bright shafts of day
> Can dispel, but only a study of the outer aspect and the
> Inner law of nature must do it.

Social evils here are put down to fears of gods and death. Cancers of the social structure are laid at the door of avarice, blind passion for position, envy and similar phenomena are seen as attempts to fortify oneself from the fear of death. It is seen as leading up to cruel competition in all walks of life as we try to remove ourselves as far as possible from the portals of the Reaper [18].

Conclusion

The recommendations coming out of Learning Works will impact right across the whole range of education: the expansion and change is already kicking-in. Lucretius had no such 'immediate' consequence. Kennedy and Blair know about timing. The Epicureans were not so hot (!). There is a lot in the report that is and will hopefully do, nothing but good. But its fundamental outlook on the world is that of the atomist, and is often expressed in subtle 'economistic' forms which seem (and are) reasonable. But a true lifelong learning culture and this economism to be seem incommensurable. They are certainly inconsistent. That is not to say that much of the detail is good. Yet it is clearly hopeless where it should be strong. David Wiggins (1998) gives a short story about an economist's response to a question in a conference. He recalls that the economist said to him, the philosopher 'What do you mean by a need? Is a need something you want, but are not prepared to pay for?' There is far more than wit being demonstrated here. And whatever it is that is being demonstrated, if not approached critically in our work, leaves us between a rock and a very hard place.

Notes and points of clarification

1) Translation by Alban D. Winspear, in *Lucretius and Scientific Thought*, (Montreal, 1963).
2) See any of Plato's 'early' dialogues, taken to represent the 'historical' Socrates. For earthly phenomena in order to get to the Ideas (Forms). Being is more secure here. This For a dialogue of the middle period see *The Symposium*. Cf. Kennedy's first definition in *Learning Works* – p.1
3) See Christopher Ball (Scottish Journal of Adult Education, 1996). Sir Christopher claims that education and training are both 'really' the same since both, basically, involve 'learning'.
4) Following developments in physics the whole idea of 'positionality' in any specialist epistemology has become increasingly important. This is so not only for science but for science-like inquiries and legalist reports which emulate hard 'objective' and science like stands. In this latter category of work it is often very difficult to discern however. See A Sen, 'Positionality' (1993). In professional practices the fundamental ideas are often taken to

be things that have independence outside the mind of the professional. They are subject to confirmation and dispute within this or that profession. This lets professionals off the hook in the work they have to do as professional 'selves'. The spread of possibilities in their work, its processes and so forth can be shaped one way or another in the way we read these ideas or working concepts. Often this is just put down to the tendencies in 'current policy'. But surely this is not the whole story? For an example of what I am getting at here see the work done on the idea of mental/physical illness in psychiatric medicine. The debate can be traced in the early sections of K W M Fulford, *Moral Theory and medical practice*, Cambridge University Press, 1989.

5) See Sally Westwood in 'Constructing the Future: A postmodern agenda for adult education' in *The Politics of Adult Education*, ed. J E Thomas & Sally Westwood (NIACE, 1991). Westwood says that 'the modern world' was marked by the European 'Enlightenment project' where 'rational man' figured very much in the foreground of the scientific understanding promising 'progress towards a better world'. The ensuing project now demands that we ask 'whether there has indeed been a death of the grand narratives'. Postmodernists refer endlessly to the 'particular' but they do so with a very wide sweep. Westwood's paper becomes incredibly interesting however in reading it almost ten years on with 'Widening Participation – The Core Issue' (by Richard Ingram in *Adults Learning*, Feb. 1999, Vol. 10 Number 6) which reports David Melville, Chief Executive of the FEFC speaking at a conference in December, 1998. 'Widening participation' is claimed now as a 'core issue for FE, and is *the vehicle for government's confidence in FE* to deliver a large part of its social inclusion agenda'. This article states that '*Learning Works* proposed that, to include many more people than ever in learning there should be New Learning Pathways for those aged 18 and over who have low levels of attainment in education and training'. These are termed 'Kennedy students' according to this report and they are to be integrated into a 'policy objective of unitisation' as part of a 'comprehensive credit framework' where the students progress 'initially to NVQ level 2'. Needless to say the 'development of the funding methodology should be linked to a unit-based credit framework'. What is the most telling here is that the application for funding on the basis of units and credits will involve 'the collection of real data (sic) on real students and the collecting data will be a spreadsheet'. Consider the picture here alongside of that in *Lifeworlds and learning*, Bill Williamson, NIACE, 1998.

6) Bill Williamson *Lifeworlds and learning* (NIACE, 1998) makes dialogue a key concept in lifelong learning. This cannot be stressed enough. Yet as learning outcomes become more important there seems to be less and less space for dialogue. It is also worth noting that what emerged from the Enlightenment was specialist dialogue and Hume conceived even morality as a moral 'science'. The Enlightenment as an event is loaded with problems. Whilst it marked a significant point for what emerged afterwards, can the failings of modernity really be traced back to that event as the antecedent ? This seems too simple.

7) Questions concerning the nature of modernity are also questions concerning the nature of the modern self – look at Descartes ! They are inseparable. It is an irony of the Cartesian 'thinking' ego that it confirms itself in itself as this thinking thing. So the very question of how we shape the problem of modernity is a problem of how we shape ourselves: within this strange puzzle where and how the hell do we locate a solid 'self'. Do we just conform and go with the flow, abandoning agency or do we assert some sort of 'social' space to manoeuvre? The self does not come into the 'reflective practitioner' of Schon but it does for many of us who do not feel right when involved in certain practices. In the atomic theory Lucretius seems to be about the creation of a more honest self through the acceptance of atomical reality. See 'Autonomy and Alienation' by Eamonn Callan in *Journal of the Philosophy of Education* Vol. 28, No.1, 1994. Callan suggests that we 'must be able to prescind from whatever aspects of our (professional) lives' if we are to critically assess ourselves in reflective autonomy. So here there is kind of trade-off in the establishment of autonomy.

8) There is, for instance, no place in Kennedy stressing the importance of dialogue, the protreptic that exhorts, teaches and advocates 'theory' in the form of an 'examined life'. It

invariably comes up and is given space for discussion in work targeting the conditions of social exclusion.

9) Charles Taylor, *The Ethics of Authenticity*, (Chapter 1) Harvard University Press, 1991. Also *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity*, Harvard University Press, 1989. A critique of Taylor is given in *Self Expressions – Mind, Morals, and the Meaning of Life*, Owen Flanigan (Chapter 9) pp.142, (Oxford University Press, 1996). In *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity*, Taylor argues for what the capacity for what he calls 'strong evaluation' as a necessary feature of persons, professional as otherwise. He writes that 'the capacity for strong evaluation in particular is essential to our notion of the human subject … Without it an agent would lack a kind of depth we consider essential to humanity'. This involves 'discrimination of right and wrong, better and worse, higher and lower, which are not rendered valid by our desires, inclinations, or choices, but rather stand independent of these and offer standards by which they can be judged'. So here a person really is a person if he or she is a strong evaluator.

10) The more realist the claims of a philosophy the more it tends to claim a therapeutic aim. Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, Zeno and Epicurus provide examples. It is especially in philosophies of the self where the stated aim is some sort of peace of mind (*ataraxia*) or inner freedom (*antarheia*). The idea here seems to be the creation of a self that is less prone to the contingencies of vanity, needless passion and the provincial conceits of certain times and places. The latter Wittgenstein comes to mind here and it all begins with Plato.

11) The atomic theory comes in with the Pre-Socratics, Epicurus and Lucretius. It kicks-in with modern science however and there is a common form of argument put forward with all these atomic theories. Stephen Makin refers to the form as the 'indifference argument'. He gives an example of it as follows: 'other galaxies are observed to be moving away from this one. Since there is nothing special about this galaxy, there is no more reason for galaxies to be receding from this one than from any other. So it is a reasonable conclusion that all galaxies are moving in the same manner away from one another'. An appeal is made to none-knowledge on the basis that the Milky Way is **no different in relevant ways** from any other galaxy. This seems reasonable, since the none-knowledge is common enough, but it hardly draws on anything sound and of course soundness is not the aim or purpose of this kind of argument. The problem is **symmetrically framed**: in Lucretius this is in atoms and the void, and in Kennedy it is in learners and non-learners. See page 20 of *Learning Works* where the 'Groups Not Participating and Not Achieving' starts with 'there is no single source of evidence to identify those who do not participate in learning ….However an accumulation of evidence points in the same direction …'.

12) Lucretius uses the poetic form for his theory so that it is more palatable at the beginning citing Venus and wonderful imagery, but this is not the way the poem moves forward. Lucretius considers the theory to be best given in 'the sweet taste of poetry'. He likens his mission to giving both his friend Memmius and mankind in general the hard-nosed truth which has to be accepted if a happy life is to be lived. This Lucretius hopes gets rid of religious myth he sees as holding back the project of real happiness. Now of course, we would more likely make the same point by talking about 'facts' in 'user-friendly' language.

13) See Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* (1953) and also Stanley Cavell, *The New Yet Unapproachable America* (1989). In the paper 'Declining Decline: Wittgenstein as a Philosopher of Culture' Cavell maintains that the *Investigations* record some sort of spiritual journey or quest on the part of Wittgenstein. This follows Socrates to philosophize is in learning to die philosophically. To die in this way is to begin to live more fully, more 'spiritually'.

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Doing the right thing: positioning the adult learner through discourses of guidance and counselling

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Introduction

The genealogy of this paper lies in the experience of working on open learning courses in personal development, and in guidance and counselling. As areas of professional practice they share certain assumptions about the nature of personal identity and the possibilities for personal change; for instance that individuals have a core identity discoverable through a process of guided reflection, and that future development paths can usefully be subject to processes of rational planning. Concurrent with this course development work has been an increased exposure to theoretical interpretations of education, guidance and counselling as forms of cultural practice active in shaping the identities of both teachers and learners. The challenge presented by these theoretical frameworks have shifted my own stance, producing changes in understandings and in practices; a revision of what it means to be an adult educator.

This brief description of context is important for two reasons; first it makes the point that behind the disembodied voice of the distance educator exists the 'troubled' practitioner, reflexively locating and relocating in relation to existing 'tribes' (Bauman, 1991) and 'borders'(Giroux, H. 1992). Second it supports a view of professional development which resonates with my own experience, viewing it as a complex interaction between practical and theoretical forms of knowing; one in which practitioners develop 'practical theory' through relating personal constructs with 'alternative ways of understanding' provided by relevant theoretical frameworks (Irving and Williams, 1995).

The feature of educational change which I want to address in this paper is the incorporation of discourses and practices of guidance and counselling into those of teaching and learning, the effects of this on practices of adult learning and on the image or character of the adult learner. One such pedagogical practice is the process of personal development planning, often embedded in open learning texts and linked with processes of recording achievement, action planning, educational and career guidance. Among the effects of these practices is to support a particular construction of the learner as an autonomous, self-steering individual who has internalised the techniques and processes of personal and career decision making; who can successfully and independently negotiate the insecurities and uncertainties of modern living. For the adult learner, 'doing the right thing' becomes the self administration of techniques and strategies derived from the practices of guidance and counselling to produce flexible and adaptable learners, actively engaging in the construction of the self as a 'reflexive project' (Giddens, 1991, 32). How far this results in the empowering of learners, and how far it can be read as the spread of a more subtle pastoral form of governmentality is open to question.

The objective here is neither to advocate or denigrate these progressive educational practices, but to examine the conditions which have brought them about and the effects they have on our notions of learning, and what it means to be a learner.

Common ground

Whilst the practices of teaching guiding and counselling each has its own distinct history, values and processes, they also have a good deal in common.

They have similar aims; in supporting and promoting notions of development and change, and to varying degrees, in engaging individuals in taking responsibility for and control over their own development. They share similar underpinning values and beliefs, and promote an essentially positive and optimistic view of the world, emphasising individuality, self improvement, empowerment and personal development. McNair, for instance, suggests that 'adult learning is about the 're-creation of the individual' (McNair, 1996a:238).

They take a similar professional stance towards their user or client group; most definitions of guidance, counselling and learner-centred learning stress the role of the professional as a facilitator rather than a director of change, since it is the learner or client who holds the power to actually make changes or to assimilate new learning. Part of the British Association of Counsellors definition of counselling is

> to give the 'client' an opportunity to explore, discover and clarify ways of living more satisfyingly and resourcefully. (BAC, 1984)

Rogers (1998) describes the goal of education as the facilitation of change and learning, and moves easily between describing the process of 'learner-centred learning and 'client-centred therapy', in each case emphasising the unique capacity of the individual to make their own meanings and shape their own development. In the same vein the androgogical tradition emphasises 'the unique goals and interests of individual learners and places these as central in the teaching and learning process' (Boud, 1989).

They use similar processes. McLeod (1998) describes counselling as a learning process in which counsellor and user participate, rather than as a specific set of techniques which are applied by the practitioner. The Unit for the Development of Adult Continuing Education (UDACE) drew attention to the essential continuity between processes of teaching and guidance in a number of its publications (UDACE, 1986; Oakshott, 1991). Models of reflective learning (Boud, Keogh and Walker, 1996) and reflective practice (Schon, 1983) describe a process through which new meanings are formed and new understandings attained, mirroring the processes of guidance and counselling. Alheit (1995) describes the task of adult education in terms of 'biographical coaching',

> 'the joint discovery by teacher and learner of biographical opportunities for shaping social, occupational and political existence more autonomously' (Alheit, 1995. 68)

From the user, client or learner perspective parallels are found in the experiences of participating in learning, guidance and counselling. Reports suggest that the feelings associated with reflecting on ones' own experiences or current practices, and contemplating the possibility of change, can be uncomfortable and even alarming. In discussing the effects of using reflection in learning, Brookfield (1994) writes of uncertainty and perplexity and Butler (1996) suggests that the attainment of new understandings is often accompanied by 'a period of discomfort, when learning appears to be erratic and confused' (Butler, 1996, p.276).

Changing context

There are powerful contextual reasons for processes of guidance and counselling to become incorporated into pedagogical practices. The process of industrialisation and related social change has been accompanied by growth in both counselling (McLeod, 1998) and guidance (Killeen, 1996) as individuals seek ways of making sense of their lives in a 'post-traditional' social order. As faith in the narrative of progress and the authority of traditional institutions has come into question, and as the security conferred by an established social and economic order has been eroded, the responsibility for shaping the self is located increasingly with individuals. In the post-industrial setting the individual becomes 'actor, designer, juggler and stage director of his or her own biography, identity, social networks, commitments and convictions' (Beck, 94:14). The established role of education in providing a pathway towards psychological and material security and increased personal agency remains the same, but its tactics and pedagogies are changing to meet the changing circumstances. The incorporation of guidance and counselling into learning can be read, at least in part, as a response to the challenge posed by the 'reflexive project' of the self.

A more immediate and pragmatic reason for the integration of guidance and counselling into learning is the growing diversity and complexity of lifelong learning, as flexibilities in curricula, institutional frameworks and forms of assessment are introduced. As the choices available in terms of when, where, what and how to study have multiplied, so have the demands on guidance and counselling as a means of facilitating, informing and supporting decision making processes. The notion of lifelong learning and the 'portfolio career' (Handy, 1996) suggests the need for lifelong guidance, as learners are obliged to constantly monitor and review their own developmental pathways.

> Lifelong flexibility and lifelong education and training are creating the conditions for lifelong guidance. (Killeen, 1996:18)

At an institutional level within the UK, a further contextual factor has been the dramatic rise in student numbers in further and higher education, together with a reduction in per-capita resources. The dilemma for many institutions has been the choice between rationing traditional career counselling interviews or changing the nature of the services they provide. In many cases the response has been to embed careers guidance in open learning packages, partly as a resource efficient means of reaching a wider audience, and partly in a conscious effort to shift the locus of responsibility for career management and guidance away from the organisation and towards the individual (Ball and Jordan, 1997).

These trends have been actively promoted through development project funding, from 'Enterprise in Higher Education' and 'Education for Capability' in the 1980's to 'Guidance and Learner Autonomy' and 'Learner Managed Learning' in the 1990's. A key aim of these programmes has been the development of autonomous learners, capable of managing their own educational and career development, using skills of self assessment, context assessment, decision making and transition skills. The associated pedagogies of profiling, recording achievement and personal development planning have emerged out of a new alignment between curriculum teaching and careers guidance, combining around the central aim of enabling individual learners to take responsibility for, and control over, their own development (Watts and Hawthorn, 1992; McNair, 1996b). In doing so they have created a bridge between the professional concern of careers educationalists with 'learning for work', and the concern of curriculum teachers with student-centred approaches to 'learning to learn'.

> In parallel with a move towards student centred learning, a career planning approach is emerging, in which learners take responsibility for the management of their own career development, in contrast to the more teacher-centred model implied in existing assumptions about careers education. (Ball and Butcher, 1994:13)

Here links are being established between a 'career planning' approach to guidance and a 'student centred' approach to learning which position both as more liberal and more progessive than the alternatives of directive guidance, and teacher-centred education. The 'expert model' in which the user, client or learner is the passive recipient of knowledge, information or advice is apparently displaced by one in which individuals develop their own capabilities in managing learning and career choice.

Interpreting change: the practitioners' dilemma

On one reading these developments appear to offer a fortuitous alliance of humanistic, person centred approaches; a welcome alternative to traditional discipline based practices; one which values and privileges the lived experience of the learner. Models which draw on Kolb's (1993) experiential learning cycle, Egan's (1996) skilled helper model of counselling, and the DOTS (Law and Watts, 1977)) model of guidance, jostle with each other in programmes of adult, further and higher education. Learners are provided with a set of techniques for personal development planning which appear to offer a neutral and transparent template onto which personal experience can be transposed and analysed. Experience is 'mined' for what it can reveal about personal resources, including skills, abilities and dispositions. Like the practices of guidance and counselling they are instrumental in generating a narrative of experience which opens it up to rational examination and systematic analysis; an apparently generic model of problem solving which can be used by anyone in relation to any life stage or any life transition. Through the self-administration of techniques derived from guidance and counselling individuals are offered the means to become empowered, self confident and self-directing. The offer closely resembles that presented by counselling and psychotherapy; a route to personal growth, self actualisation and autonomy.

What is not acknowledged in this account is the way in which any representation of self or individuality or identity is only one version among the many which are possible, and that the means by which accounts are elicited play a vital role in shaping the account itself. As Bruner (1987) has noted:

> The ways of telling and the ways of conceptualising that go with them become recipes for structuring experience itself, for laying down routes into memory, for not only guiding the life narrative up to the present but directing it into the future Bruner, 1987, 31)

The creation of personal narratives has been linked with a need to secure a sense of meaning in our lives. Different traditions refer to this as the meaning-giving, self determining, self-creating or self-constructing aspect of human nature. What people find meaningful about themselves and their world is expressed through language, metaphores, narratives and autobiography. (Kenyon, 1996). As Bruner suggests, not only do we all have stories to tell, we are stories; 'we become the autobiographical narratives by which we tell about our lives' (Bruner, 1987:15).

But there is more than one story. We are private or economic stories, family stories, emotional stories and cultural stories, and these do not eaily fit within one coherent all-embracing narrative. This point is pushed further within the postmodern analysis which suggests an essentially fragmented self, with no possibility for the discernment of an organising pattern, unity or purpose within any single life story.

> Under postmodern conditions, persons exist in a state of continuous construction and re-construction; it is a world where anything goes that can be negotiated. Each reality of the self gives way to a reflexive questioning, irony, and ultimately the playful probing of yet another reality. The centre does not hold. (Gergen, 1992: 7)

Narratives of the self are both powerful, as part of the way we make sense of the world and our position within it; and negotiable, in that there are many narratives which could be told about ourselves, and these are always open to revision. In these circumstances the process of guiding the construction of biographical narrative deserves close scrutiny, since it operates not simply to open up opportunity for self understanding and rational planning, but also to shape and contain the possibilities for personal identity. As Usher and Edwards (1998) put it:

> life planning books and programmes are as much subject to a limiting of options within certain parameters as they are expanders of opportunity - the rainbows and parachutes people are invited to build for themselves only have so many colours..(Usher and Edwards 1998, 218)

In this sense the range of technologies for self development and learning: records of achievement, personal development log books, computer based profiling systems, self assessment exercises, can be understood as technologies for the governance of individual conduct; as 'techniques for assuring the ordering of human multiplicities' (Foucault, 1977: 218). They are effective in shaping the capacities and inclinations of individuals, not through coercion, but by engaging individuals in their own self formation. This 'pastoral' form of governance 'enables individuals to actively participate in disciplinary regimes through investing their own identity, subjectivities and desires with those ascribed to them by certain knowledgeable discourses' (Usher and Edwards, 1998: 215). It allows governmentality to act not only on the behaviour and external appearance of individuals, but also on their inner lives - 'the entry of the soul of the citizen into the sphere of government (Rose, 1990:113). Through processes of recording achievement and personal development planning learners come to identify with new words, images and conceptualisations of what it means to be a learner, of how learners behave, talk about themselves and express themselves in the world. They provide a structure and a vocabulary which values and recognises certain kinds of subjectivity, bringing into view particular forms of experience and aspiration and suggesting certain kinds of outcomes. The spaces in which learners are invited to insert their own experiences and preferences are not, in this analysis, as innocent as they might appear, but already inscribed with certain expectations and understandings. The self knowledge which is being elicited and validated here is only one among many possible accounts of the identity of the learner. Whilst the explicit purpose is to open up choice and opportunity, in so doing it also brings closure, both to understandings of what it means to be a person in the world, and also of what is 'realistic' for a person to expect from the world.

Practice imperfect

Forms of analysis which serve to problematise taken-for-granted understandings and assumptions about the processes of learning and forms of identity which these engender do not progress smoothly towards clear guidelines for action and for practice. What they do achieve is to expose the field of practice as a site of contest - one in which the very subjectivity of learners is the prize. The emergence of guidance and counselling in a more central role within education has contributed towards a discursive re-conceptualisation of the learner and of learning, but this is itself open to contestation and re-evaluation. The discipline of personal development planning might well be a powerful influence in shaping and moulding learner subjectivities, but this does not over-ride the possibilities for resistance and the assertion of difference. Adult educators have a significant role to play here; in reflexively locating current practices in their wider social, economic and cultural context; in questioning the categories and spaces available for self definition; and in exploring possibilities for different kinds of learner identity.

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Voyages of discovery: deciding a convenient time, place and pace to suit adult learners in the community

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> We shall not cease from exploration, and the end of all our exploring will be to arrive where we started and know the place for the first time. (T.S. Elliot in Little Giddings)

This paper examines the expeditions of a group of adults belonging to a self-help disability group and myself as an educational provider. The worlds in which we operate - local community centre and university ivory tower- are very different; nevertheless our voyages of discovery have considerable commonality. It is clear we all have varying degrees of knowledge, familiarity and confidence about these two worlds. In our voyages of discovery we are faced with the challenge of exploring together to try and find answers to questions that will enable us to decide what is a convenient time, place and pace for educational provision.

My own voyage is primarily concerned with the task of providing culturally and socially relevant courses in accord with the criteria and course frameworks developed as part of Lancaster University's Community Access Programme's (CAP) Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) widening provision initiative. For the adult learners their expedition initially concerns the educational provision developed for, and with them, by members of CAP. After gaining confidence from this first sortie into adult education there are some who wish to contemplate the possibility of new voyages of discovery about an education system that hitherto they didn't believe was for them (Williams, 1997).

CAP use an action research cycle to critically reflect upon the issues arising from trying to communicate and enter into dialogue with members from the world of community. During our voyages of discovery an eclectic collection of evidence is gathered. Firstly, documentary evidence including course proposal forms, supplemented with class visit reports, tutor updates and personal 'head notes' (Barton and Hamilton, 1998). This documentary evidence reveals different aspects of the voyage, and illustrates the transformation described by Bourdieu between a map and journey. Where the map or *opus operatum* is represented by the course proposal and the journey or *modus operandi* is the observed reality and delivery of the course recorded in class visit reports. The second source of data is information from tutors and community contacts collected during discussions in semi-structured interviews. The content of these interviews is focused on the guidance strategies tutors employ in facilitating, and learning from, the adult learners with whom they worked. The final sources of evidence are the comments and observations made by ten adult learners during two semi-structured interviews; the first conducted in 1997, the second a year later, after they had some experience of the trials, tribulations, excitements and possibilities of the world of education.

Who are the adult explorers?

Information about previous educational voyages of discovery amongst the members of the self-help disability group of learners reveals considerable diversity. It is easy for providers to assume that groups are homogenous and cater for individual needs by means of a collective approach. In practice this should be avoided whenever possible. However for the purpose of providing an overview of the adult learners the following information is provided. The group consisted of six women and four men. Nine had a disability or chronic health condition since birth, in the case of the latter group, an episode had caused further deterioration that had lead them to associate themselves with other disabled people. Their membership of a self-help disability group meant that to some extent either now, or in the recent past, this was how they saw themselves. The individual responses to their disability status varied enormously, for some their disability was something to be proud of, engendering comfort and a sense of protection. Whilst for others, it was something to be managed. Sometimes their disability resulted in additional challenges and obstacles to be overcome in order to achieve their personal goals. Overall school experiences generally discouraged future involvement in education, with the majority of the group leaving school with few or no qualifications. None had been involved in higher education, although two had friends and three had members of their family who had gone to university. One student's wife had started a part-time degree at a local FE college. Unfortunately she had dropped out when the course required her to move to the main site of the university 70 miles away, something she could not afford either financially or in terms of her family commitments. In addition to this core group there were other adults with a disability who attended the courses at this centre. Their comments were collected during guidance focus group discussions and provided corroboration for the comments made by the students who were interviewed.

Educational guidance - a vehicle of discovery

If action research is the process of uncovering and reflecting upon the evidence, then educational guidance is the primary vehicle used to undertake these voyages of discovery. It includes the activities of informing, advising, counselling, advocating, assessing, enabling and feedback (UDACE, 1986) that are delivered along four continuum (Houghton, 1998) that many believe should be informed by the guidance principles of student centredness, confidentiality, impartiality, accessibility and equality of opportunity (HEQC, 1995). At the root of good guidance is communication. For that communication to be affective it is necessary for it to become a dialogical process that is based on establishing common goals and shared meanings (Williams, 1998). In the context of developing courses in partnership with members of the community, it is necessary for community co-ordinators, including myself, to acquire the viewpoint and language of each community in order to behave as an accepted community member (Brown and Duguid, 1996). To further assist this dialogic process CAP often use role model tutors and co-ordinators who have something in common with the learners; so for example, as a wheelchair user, I never need reminding about the necessity of using an accessible venue!

Educational guidance is an integral feature of CAP's course provision enabling all of us to discover what features are required for students to be students. Through individual and group activities, tutors aim to find out what individuals need and how the course can be adapted to respond to the needs of each learner.

For the students educational guidance provides an opportunity for them to identify their own needs, consider the extent to which they can address their own barriers to learning, and decide who else they need to involve in this process. It is often not until inexperienced learners are already on a course that are able to identify what lifestyle changes they need to make in order for them to continue and succeed in their study. As Theresa, one of the tutors, explains:

> for various people the fact that they're not aware of what learning support they need, or what mechanisms, networks they need to set up, it makes it difficult for them to actually engage (Theresa: 517-521).

Educational guidance can assist adult learners to critically evaluate their situation, as they become more experienced students. Gradually learners begin to recognise that it is not only course contact time, place and pace of the course that are important. External activities also have to be planned; for instance, finding time for homework, a place to study and incorporating their own pace of learning with other life commitments is also necessary if they are to be successful. Discovering what is needed and how these needs can be addressed is vital. Sometimes students can find their own solutions, for example, asking a neighbour to look after the children to provide time for study. Alternatively community contacts can assist. Finding somewhere quiet to study and obtaining access to computer facilities was to prove invaluable for Tony when preparing his first assignment:

> Tracey (community contact) let me come and work here (at the centre), it was marvellous, it

> meant I could get on with my work, and she was there to help me if I needed to ask any questions.

The portfolio Tony prepared for his assignment has since been described as a 'family heirloom' and as such is a resource that can be utilised in his future voyages of exploration. Because it contains critical reflection of his learning experiences this portfolio becomes a source of motivation and information about how he overcame obstacles in the past.

Educational guidance also provides a vehicle of discovery for educational providers. Entering into dialogue, responding to student feedback and adapting provision is commendable. However, simply catering for learner needs and offering adapted provision that takes account of factors including time, place and pace can severely limit adult learners' opportunities for future progression. Why? Because, for learners wishing to progress, it is essential that they are enabled to realise that at least for the moment, educational provision per se is not always offered in such a flexible manner. I believe this is an important part of the learning process. Enabling learners to have success within a context that has responded to their needs, without informing and enabling them to realise that their needs might not be catered for elsewhere in the same way, can potentially lead to disappointment when they decide to enrol on another course. For a host of reasons mainstream provision is not as flexible as the tailor-made provision experienced in a community context. For future success and progression, learners need to be able to identify and seek to address barriers that may restrict their future voyages of discovery.

Course development – deciding a suitable time, place and pace

CAP is fortunate in having negotiated within the university a course validation process that allows us to use the evidence collected during our exploration of adult learners' needs. Consequently, courses are developed in accord with regulations that are approved and consistent with other university course validation procedures. To aid communication and provide a common basis for discussion about the courses between colleagues within the university, the information we include in our course proposal, although focusing on different issues, is presented in a way that mirrors the mainstream validation procedures. My role and that of other CAP co-ordinators is to translate and present in an acceptable format the issues highlighted in dialogue with the learners. In many ways we operate as 'street level bureaucrats' (Hudson, 1993) transforming the hopes, expectations, beliefs and values of the inhabitants of one world into language that can be understood by those of another.

Overtime features within the CAP course proposal form have been designed to encapsulate issues relevant to both worlds. For the university this will include sections about the syllabus, assessment, learning outcomes, administrative details concerning human, physical and technical resources; whereas the learner-focused sections cover issues of time and place of delivery, provision of crèche, bi-lingual / BSL support, transport, women only groups, and access requirements. Although there is an overlap, the primary requirements of the inhabitants of each world are different. The CAP co-ordinators like myself are perhaps an exception as they seek to span the perceptual and in this case geographical differences between the community and university.

Disabled travellers

Until recently participation of people with a disability in mainstream higher education provision was limited (Hurst, 1990). Voyages of discovery were not encouraged and those who did venture forth were often seen as heroes. Reasons to explain the low levels of participation are complex. Until recently, the medical model of disability that attributes problems arising from mobility and sensory impairments solely to the individual informed the dominant societal attitude towards people with a disability. Supporters of this view tend to regard successful explorers as overcoming the adversity of a hostile terrain, not only an institution's physical environment, but also the attitudes of those who doubted their ability to study. Gradually as the dominant medical model is challenged and replaced by a social model of disability, the impact of environmental and attitudinal factors that can disable a person as much as their physical or sensory disability is recognised. For explorers embarking on a voyage of discovery in a world influenced by the social model it is recognised that practical obstacles to learning do exist. In contrast to the medical model, the social model accepts that provision can be made more accessible by existing inhabitants and previous travellers committed to providing equality of opportunity to travellers in the future. A third approach to the voyage of discovery is that typified by a radical model which argues for, and insists that the existing inhabitants have a duty to make clear a path, so that those wishing to explore can exert their right to do so.

There is evidence that each of these disability models has affected the decisions and subsequent actions of the adult learners, community contacts and myself as an educational provider. CAP has recently received additional funding from a HEFCE Special Initiative to enable us to provide additional support. For example, finding an accessible venue in the community is often more complicated, as Tracey the community contact explains:

> The practical problems have been a bit of a headache for us because of a lack of access and access not only to parking and toilets but actually rooms where people can move around ... people think that just because they're ramped outside the door that is the end of the access problem (320-323; 328-330).

Although the Disability Association has its own venue it is an important part of the voyage of discovery to provide courses in other locations; this encourages students to plan travel arrangements, and cope with unfamiliar places. There is also a learning curve for us as providers in having to negotiate with those providing a room; what sounds on paper to be suitable isn't necessarily the case! Providing an interpreter to enable members of the local Deaf Association to attend some of these courses has also resulted in a valuable exchange between students, community contacts, tutors and CAP.

Tracey the community contact explained how the Disability Association was committed to making educational opportunities available for its members. In addition they were influenced by the radical model of disability and actively campaigned for the rights of disabled people. Evidence of the medical model was described by a number of students when they talked about their childhood education. There was a stark contrast between those who had attended a special school and those who attended a mainstream school. Tess recognised the limitations and negative affects of her compulsory education.

> I didn't like the way you were treated, they treated you less because of your disability ... more time was spent on medical, more time was spent on teaching you how to wear your callipers, ... rather than teaching you anything academically (140-43; 149-50).

For Tess and the other students getting started was undoubtedly a big step and required them all to overcome a series of hurdles relating to practical, attitudinal and educational issues. For this group, a trusted and respected member of the Disability Association, Tracey, engaged in 'pre, pre entry guidance' (Houghton and Oglesby, 1996). In her capacity as education officer, Tracey discussed personal goals and aspirations, as well as providing information and advice that was to motivate and enable the students to consider the possibility of undertaking a course and embarking on this voyage of discovery. It was during this process that the needs of the group in terms of the time, place and pace of learning for this first course was negotiated. Unfortunately the educational voyage of discovery is not simply a matter of listening to learners; having overcome these practical obstacles is no guarantee that the rest of the voyage will be free from problems. Experienced travellers who have had positive experiences, upon which they can draw, may find the challenges of a particular course provide excitement, and a sense of satisfaction. For this group of learners, many of whom lacked confidence, these practical hurdles initially seemed insurmountable. By incorporating educational guidance activities of enabling and feedback into the courses, it was possible to identify aspects of the course that needed further modification. In addition the integration of educational guidance ensured issues not evident at the start of the course could be discussed so that the learners could be encouraged to find their own solutions.

As we analyse the stories and narratives of those on initial voyages there appear to be a number of things that can be learned. A flexible approach to course provision is necessary to ensure that a suitable time, place and pace for a specific group of learners is embedded into the course design; this we believe is more than desirable, it is essential. There are numerous benefits to be gained by integrating guidance into the course, these can be enhanced when incorporated into an action research cycle that explores with tutors their approaches to guidance as well as allowing the voices of the students to be heard. By involving adult learners into the research, their voice and experience enters a wider more public domain and can therefore be used to influence future provision. Consequently, the importance of time, place and pace for learners is a narrative recognised in both worlds. No longer are these purely administrative components of the course proposal form, instead they are acknowledged as factors that either facilitate or obstruct an individual successfully completing a personal, study, investigation or enterprise skill course.

Initially the notion of undertaking a voyage of discovery was something that the learners themselves had only mused about; the idea was suggested by Tracey the local community contact who has played a significant role in motivating, organizing and supporting the learners, especially in the early days. To her credit the appeal and attraction of education within the community context is becoming increasingly multi-directional as existing learners invite, encourage and motivate others to join them on their voyage of discovery. As Kay Standing explains it is not necessarily the experts from whom we can learn; it can and often is a matter of 'learning from the lived experiences of others, those we know and have formed a relationship, not the experts' (Standing, 188: 1998). Furthermore, as well as sharing their lived experiences with others, these initial explorers are now considering new voyages into other worlds of education beyond those offered in their local community centre.

Educational guidance can, and should also be used as an impetus for institutional change. Issues relating to the time, place and pace are frequently factors of a course controlled by educational providers. Arguably, education providers have as much to learn from community based education initiatives, as the learners have to find out about educational opportunities available to them. Those committed to widening participation and making their provision inclusive will hopefully not cease from exploration, so at the end of their exploring their courses will be delivered at a suitable time, place and pace for the adults with whom they wish to work.

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The time that isn't there?: temporal un/consciousness in (feminist) research

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> What I am about to tell you, or confide in you, today, will remain rather primary, loose. This is both deliberate and due to lack of time. But what time do I mean? The time that has not, or has not yet, been loosed by all that is too bound, too secondarily bound, thereby leaving so-called free energy chained up, in the crypt. But perhaps that energy is merely deprived of the space-time it needs to cathect, unfold, inscribe, play ... (Irigaray, 1993: 25)

Listen for a moment to all those phrases and words which register temporality: I'm late; you're early; time is running out; I haven't got enough time; rhythms; changes; what's the time?; clocking-on; retirement; how old are you?; development; progress; waiting; part-time; full-time; future; past; contemporary; slow down; doing time; deadline; life's too short; free time; maturation; life cycle; there's not enough minutes in the day; annual leave; progress; flexibility; how long have you got? stages; was; is; might; dead time; juggling; synchronise; pay day; life; death; history; memory; educate; learn; facilitate; I didn't have time; formation; the working week; habits; stability; construct; tell me your life story; my biological clock is ticking; becoming; not in my time; measure; generation; timetable; time off; school years; modern; post-modern; ancient; career; speed; too old; too young; time to go; I must manage my time better; you must manage your time better; (and worst of all) millenium!

Social science research, including research in adult education, is replete with time. We shouldn't, of course, be surprised at this. Temporality, as Klein (1994), indicates is a basic category of our experience and cognition. The very essence of communicating with each other means that our languages contain a rich array of temporal expressions. The problem is research just does not often self-signify in this way.

To explore the implications of this un/consciousness, I shall begin with a focus on research into adult participation. Here, I shall indicate how clock time has dominated our understandings of temporality. As a way of opening up spaces for other ways of knowing time I then give three snapshots of time theorised (for a more refined analysis see Adam, 1990, 1995!). The first outlines key philosophical and linguistic positions. The second discusses the concept of 'Women's Time' through the work of the French postmodernist Kristeva. Finally, I return to what is a more central concern of research into adult education -that of adult development. Here, I want to indicate the ways in which values and time are intermeshed. In the conclusion, I indicate how research might be developed through an enhanced consciousness of time.

So, What Time Isn't There?

Clock and calendar time structure education in a myriad of ways. Timetables, term dates, deadlines, schedules and the division of the curriculum are all aspects of the ways in which we can quantify time. In encouraging access to education considerable attention has been given to clock and calendar time through the provision of full-time, part-time, distance and flexible modes of participation. Feminist educators, for example, have long argued for the need to offer courses which take account of the demands of caring in women's lives. The assumptions behind these arguments are that educational clock time should fit in with the particular circumstances of adult learners.

Research into participation, in consequence, has documented the varying access to full and part-time forms of education experienced by different groups in society. Again, clock time dominates, illuminating time as a valuable and often scarce resource, or as a precious commodity which has to be shared amongst competing interests such as family and employment. It also indicates relations of power through the inequalities of time which different groups have for education.

Much research into participation also suggests that time is an exchange relationship. We exchange the time watching television for being in class. Or we exchange the time caring for our children to be in employment. The politics of what is, and is not, exchanged also resonate in research into participation. Caring for children and studying are a feature in many women's lives.

Time is also a form of regulation. Schooling instills the requirements of industrial time through demanding attention to the clock. In this functionalist analysis it ensures that children are socialised into employable beings. The same can be said for young and unemployed adults who are required to attend government training schemes lest they forget the art of getting up in the morning or in case they develop an alternative time consciousness.

Clock time is not the only way in which we can understand the role of education in adult's lives. Although concerned with employment, Davies' (1990) research is useful here as it indicates how the length of time it takes to accomplish a task is a measure used in many women's lives. Davies, for example, contrasts factory work with care work to illustrate their different temporal demands. Whilst factory time may be bounded by the clock in terms of start and finishing times, caring needs, and therefore caring tasks, cannot be bounded in this way. Education, similarly, has clock and calendar boundaries through the beginnings and ends of classes, tutorials and courses. It is, nevertheless, also a process. How long does it take to revise for an exam, write an essay or a conference paper? Process time and clock time therefore sit together, albeit uneasily, as temporal experiences of adulthood.

So, what time isn't there? As Davies (1990) and Adam (1990, 1995) illustrate so well, whilst time resonates social meaning and value beliefs we easily lose sight of these. Moreover, whilst clock time is a very dominant perspective:

> Even the clock/task distinction ... leaves other dimensions of time allocation unaddressed. Neither clock nor task-defined time capture the allocation of psychic or mental time, nor do they address the forms of consciousness required within different allocations of mental time. (Edwards, 1993: 64)

As the opening quote in this paper indicates, time is not only experienced through a clock to be measured and calculated. Time can be energised or locked away. It needs space to cathect. Indeed, can we speak of time without referring to space? We also have an emotional relation to time which means we may experience it as opportunity and/or constraint, as a pressure and/or a luxury. Furthermore, the organisation of time in our daily lives has a relation to our sense of identities. To juggle time, for example, suggests that one **is** a time juggler. To be employed on a flexible basis defines one **as** a flexible worker. To engage in part-time study leads one to know one/self **as** a part-time student. But, as Adam (1995) notes, we cannot break the spell of clock time until we bring its taken-for-grantedness to consciousness.

Time, Language and Being

For those whose analytic approach to research is centrally concerned with language structure, say through semiotics and discourse analysis, what I point up here will not be surprising. For others whose concerns are less specific in terms of the attention given to language form, I hope it will act as a reminder, as it did for me, of the significance not just of the import of the way we say things but also the order in which this is accomplished. Klein (1994: 14) indicates the ways in which temporality is encoded in language as follows:

- the grammatical categories tense and aspect;
- inherent temporal features of the verb (and its complements), such as punctuality, durativity, etc;

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- complex verb clusters, such as to begin to sleep, to continue to smoke, etc;
- temporal adverbials of various types;
- special particles, such as the Chinese perfectivity marker le;
- principles of discourse organisation, such as 'the order in which situations are reported corresponds to their temporal order in reality'.

Perhaps more significantly, Klein (1994: 1) indicates that whenever languages contain finite verbs (Chinese being an exception) 'the speaker has no choice: the expression of time is necessarily a consequence of the way in which language is structured'. Working with/in Derridean perspectives where language is accorded the privilege of the first born (Hartmann, 1981), this suggests an intense relationship between our talk of time and our senses of being.

Of course, the relationship between being and time (and time and being) is extensively explored in Heidegger's work (1977, 1980) to the extent that '... (Being) and time nearly coalesce' (Stambaugh, 1977: xi; see also Hartmann, 1981 and Fraser, 1989 for a discussion of the intellectual heritage of Heidegger in Derrida's work). Heidegger's approach illuminates the ways in which birth and death are the time frame through which we live. Yet it is death that inhabits our present and our horizon because it so marks the end of (our) time. Time is 'the boundary to life' (Adam, 1990: 30) but not in an external or fixed sense. Rather time permeates our very existence.

The emphasis on mortality in Heidegger's work is critiqued as allowing no entry point for women (Forman, 1989). Whilst Heidegger might illuminate aspects of living **in** time, that is from birth to death, he does not articulate the **giving** of time. Thus:

> The notion of a death of one's own, as the condition expressed in the Heideggerian formula for authentic existence, is inconceivable for women if it is not rendered dialectically with birth, because for us the future as generative is as much a determinant in our lives as is our mortality. Put more fundamentally: our very awareness of death, given the existentials of our lives as women, cannot be viewed from the same perspective which for men makes death the ultimate source of courage and freedom. As a collective, women do not only live in time (from birth to death), they also give time and that act makes a radical difference to Being-in-the-World. (Forman, 1989:7)

Certainly, as many women academics know, the giving of time is a value upon which we are judged, by our colleagues and students. It is also a value upon which we judge ourselves. What time do women have?

Women's Time

A key tenet of feminist politics is that it provides a social movement for change. Accordingly, feminists concerned with whether, and how, women's lives have changed will draw on implicit and explicit notions of historical time. Are there, for example, more/different/better opportunities for women in the 1990s than in the 1950s or 1920s? Are the subjects which women study changing? Do women have greater choices of, and access to, educational subjects or careers? These conceptualisations of history as linear time, nonetheless, provide only one perspective by which we might understand women's lives. They measure and quantify within assumptions that temporality is progression (or indeed regression). The costs of foregrounding linearity are that insufficient attention is given to subjective aspects of being and, ultimately, to questions of identity. Embedded in the questions above is another question 'What does it mean to be a woman in 1914 or 1937 or 1999?'

Identity, time **and** space cohabit Kristeva's (1986) conception of 'Women's Time'. As Moi (1986: 188) indicates, Kristeva provides a classic statement in relation to this:

> [Kristeva] explicitly addresses the question of feminism and its relations to femininity on the one hand, and the symbolic order on the other. According to Kristeva, female subjectivity

> would seem to be linked both to cyclical time (repetition) and to monumental time (eternity), at least in so far as both are ways of conceptualizing time from the perspective of motherhood and reproduction. The time of history, however, can be characterized as linear time: time as project, teleology, departure, progression and arrival. This linear time is also that of language considered as the enunciation of a sequence of words.

Kristeva talks of three generations of feminists, but is not using generation solely in the sense of linear time - our grandmothers, mothers, daughters. Rather, her usage emphasises generation in terms of occupying symbolic and corporeal space in the social order. The three generations to which Kristeva refers are, therefore, both linear - from first wave to third wave - and also co-exist. Feminism, both contemporarily and historically, exhibits aspects of all three generations addressed by Kristeva.

The generations to which Kristeva refers are very familiar to us. Presented here, as crude characterisations, they emphasise the duality of one form of difference - that between women and men. Kristeva's 'third way', to use contemporary language, is an attempt to join patriarchy and the maternal order through a focus on the sociosymbolic contract (Ermath, 1989).

The first generation, the suffragists, demanded equal rights with men. They sought space in men's worlds through a 'logic of identification with certain values: not with the ideological (these are combated, and rightly so, as reactionary) but, rather, with the logical and ontological values of a rationality dominant in the nation-state' (Kristeva, 1986: 194). Inherent in this form of feminism are conceptions of progression leading to the question 'How far have we succeeded in accomplishing the initial programme which had been mapped out by our feminist founders?'
Second wave feminists rejected this linear temporality, and indeed this 'logic of identification', in favour of a position which emphasised the 'specificity of female psychology and its symbolic realizations' (Kristeva, 1986: 194). In so doing, 'this feminism situates itself outside the linear time of identities which communicate through projection and revindication' (p 194). Rather, it situates itself with/in 'the cyclical or monumental temporality of marginal movements' (p 195). Its risk, however, is that it can degenerate 'into an inverted form of sexism' (Moi, 1986: 187).

The third generation of feminists have to confront some women's continued desire to have children with their desire for a professional life. This suggests that women have to reconcile 'maternal time (motherhood) with linear (political and historical) time' (Moi, 1986: 187). As Erman (1989: 44) notes 'What this "mixture" implies for linear time and its associated values remains unclear'. Through a focus on the linguistic order, the task for feminism is to deconstruct the concept of identity to allow space for individual difference. How? Perhaps by 'throwing the emphasis off what is finished, conclusive, static, identified and on to what is open, playful, mobile, relational' (Erman, 1989: 45). Can we change our values this much?

Whose Values in Time?

Life transitions, maturation and status passages provide the focus of research attention within assumptions of what is a 'normal' progression. Age, socially relative though it is, provides the marker of time whether this is categorised in years or stages. Much feminist research has pointed out how inappropriate malestream conceptions of life cycles are to women's experiences, emphasising that women's lives are not lived 'in time' with men's. Nevertheless, 'Irreversible time dominates in studies of the life cycle' (Adam, 1990: 99). And, it is this irreversibility that we hear in adult returner's voices as they are educated 'out of time' to normatively prescribed educational trajectories.

The strength of normative values is charted in much feminist work through the ways in which women express guilt for 'taking time' for themselves. Feminist pedagogic approaches attempt to work through this guilt by, for example, raising women's consciousness of the ways in which their conceptions of being 'out of time' are measured (falsely) against men's lives (see for example Fisher, 1989). Feminist educators are, in essence, attempting to overcome the negative conceptions of time as irreversible through a revaluing of times in women's lives. The key texts for this enlightenment are those of development psychologists Gilligan (1982) and Belenky et al (1986).

Development theory, whether Kohlberg's, Gilligan's or Belenky et al's, is concerned with progress. This progress is to an enhanced state of being. To chart an individual's progress requires an articulation of core values against which measures can be made. Time therefore is assumed to be progressive (as we move from one state of knowing to another) but the concept of progression holds within it certain constant values:

> ... the idea of progress contains at its core a key tension. On the one hand ... it is dependent on the idea of historical change; progress demands movement. On the other hand, it also assumes that beneath this change, there are certain historical constants - ideals that express what is best about being human. Without underlying values to give such movement meaning, history cannot be understood as representing progress; it remains merely change.' (Nicholson, 1999: 1)

As a developmental task, therefore, the educator's measure of success will rest on whether students have accepted particular (feminist) values as true ways of knowing the world. What constant values might we identify, therefore, in say Belenky et al (1986)? In their desire to move women from the passivity and dependency of silence to autonomy and self-directness, what I hear are the voices of Kristeva's first generation wrestling with a feminist ontology of connectedness. Let me be free of my sex (but still relational). The values of Knowles' andragogical man live on, therefore, as we celebrate when women have 'found' their voices and move to a form of independence as active thinkers generating their own knowledge. That silence is now being reclaimed as worthy in current pedagogic theory (see for example Lewis, 1993) suggests something of a re-evaluation of its epistemological status. Do I hear Kristeva's second generation shouting for space? May it be that silence is womanly?

(Re)searching Time

In bringing the snippets of this paper together, I want to conclude by indicating a few of the ways in which research in the various fields of adult education may become more time conscious. I began by noting that time and language have an inextricable link. Indeed, it would appear that our language is so imbued with time that we have ceased to know that it is there. Yet turning the familiar strange has always been a useful research motto. If, therefore, our beings are so awash with time what does this have to say about how we know the social world and how we know (and don't know) our(selves)? A focus on the forms in which research narratives convey temporality may be one place to look. Time talk is an indicator of past and future projections, of who I was and who I might like to be. Time talk indicates the co-existence of a multiplicity of time worlds. Time talk suggests the complexity of the social world which social science dualities strive to simplify.

Time therefore is not a single concept. Indeed, research has already indicated how time is experienced in a multitude of ways. Yet clock time dominates these understandings. Clock time, of course, suggests a reality which is objective and observable. It appears ahistoric and global. Is it any of these things? No, yet it can trick you into thinking it is. This is why one has to be cautious when generalizing about time. Moreover, foregrounding other forms of time, whether through comparative analyses or through attention to those elements of time which are less observable, such as emotions and energy, will ensure that the space given to time is not overwhelmingly occupied by clocks. It requires us, overall, to connect our imaginations to time and ask it some new questions.

Finally, time consciousness requires conceptual consciousness.
As Adam's (1990: 5-6) research indicated:

> In none of the sciences, and not even the perspectives within them ... were people talking about the same thing when they made use of the idea of time. They seemed to be talking about phenomena, things, processes, qualities, or a dimension, a category, and a concept, using the word unproblematically as if it had only one meaning.

So, what is time to you?

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Space for spirituality?: modelling another dimension in community education

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Introduction

> *Ultimately, deep ecological awareness is spiritual or religious awareness. When the concept of the human spirit is understood as the mode of consciousness in which the individual feels a sense of belonging, of connectedness, to the cosmos as a whole, it becomes clear that ecological awareness is spiritual in its deepest essence. It is, therefore, not surprising that the emerging new vision of reality based on deep ecological awareness is consistent with the so-called 'perennial philosophy' of spiritual traditions.* (Capra, 1997 : 7)

Coincidence and connectedness

A few weeks ago, I attended the Annual Liverpool Scumacher Lectures (20.3.99) at which Fritjof Capra was a key speaker. In consequence, I bought one of his most recent books, *The Web of Life*, from which the quotation above is drawn. I wasn't sure whether to feel elated or deflated to find encapsulated, so succinctly, a view that I have gradually worked my own way towards *via* several encounters with the perennial philosophy (Huxley, 1946) and a lengthy exploration of what 'community' might mean. I had recently written in a PhD thesis (with which I have had intermittent struggles over many years) that community might be understood as 'a sense of connectedness' and as 'spiritual in its deepest essence'.

The title of the thesis is *In search of the abstract quality: an investigation into the nature of community education ...* It derives from Cyril Poster's (1982: 1) attempt to describe 'community'. He notes that the term is used in two different ways: '... to represent a feeling, a state of mind, an abstract quality that can only be appreciated conceptually; and to denote a group of people apparently drawn together by a common purpose'. He concludes, somewhat tautologically, that 'Community, the abstract quality, is a derivative of the activities of those who associate in communities'.

As a community educator, I wanted to try to get to grips with the nature of this 'quality' because, despite there being at least ninety-four different definitions of the term 'community' (Hillery, 1955), something about the experience itself always seems to lie beyond description. This paradox is reminiscent of the ancient Sufi story of the blind men who tried to describe an elephant: the person holding the trunk thought the elephant must be like a snake; the one touching the leg thought it like a tree, and so on. In the descriptions of its constituent parts, the elephant's 'wholeness' was lost. I felt that the 'wholeness' of 'community' might, similarly, be lost in the spaces between its myriad definitions. Also, the frequency with which the term has been used to add respectability to a wide range of activities - from care to policing - seemed to endorse Raymond Williams's observation that:

> What is most important, perhaps, is that unlike all other terms of social organisation (state, nation, society *etc.*) *it never seems to be used unfavourably, and never to be given any positive opposing or distinguishing term* (Williams, 1976: 66; my emphasis).

I decided to start from the premise that 'community' has such a favourable image, and no 'opposing' terms, because, unlike most Western concepts, it does not represent one aspect of a duality. It may, therefore, be associated, at a deep level in the human psyche, with acknowledgement of the oneness, the indivisible connectedness, of all things. Thus, to acknowledge a sense of community may be to acknowledge connection at a level for which I have found no better term than 'spiritual'.

This paper is based on an on-going exploration of such matters but suggests that the time may be right to introduce a spiritual discourse into analyses of community education. I hope it will provide the basis for discussion of the extent to which an understanding of community education in spiritual terms might pave the way for new forms of practice that are both reflective and transformative.

My personal understanding of spirituality derives not from any particular religious belief but rather from practical experiences and leisure reading. As far as the latter is concerned, I have been surprised by the rapid expansion in the last decade or so in the number of popular books that have spirituality as a theme. This owes much, I think, to James Lovelock's (1979) '*Gaia* hypothesis'. Though ostensibly a scientific text describing the Earth as a living system, by invoking the name of the ancient Earth Goddess it seems not only to have caught the public imagination but to have provided a metaphor for a changing world-view in which the implications of the interconnectedness of dynamic systems clearly require new individual and political responses (Thompson, 1987).

My practical experiences of what I now call spirituality include meditation, and participation in T-groups and similar personal development groups. Meditation can result in a state of consciousness in which there is no sense of duality; a state in which there is neither an object of experience (that which is *being experienced*) nor a subject - experienc*er* - of the experience. Some group work can also culminate in moments when all difference appears to have been similarly transcended. In his work on 'community making', Scott Peck (1990: 76) describes such a moment as one in which group members 'feel that they have been temporarily ... transported out of the mundane world of ordinary preoccupations. For the moment it is as if heaven and earth had somehow met'.

Such moments are, admittedly, rare. But the fact that they can, and do, occasionally occur in community activities, has been even more rarely discussed in relation to the working practices and academic analyses of community education.

Community education

Background

Community education has long been a notoriously contested space in the education of adults, encompassing activities as diverse as traditional evening classes, attempts to redistribute educational opportunities, and radical Frierian approaches to work with local communities that challenge the political *status quo*. Until alterations in funding brought about by the 1988 Education Reform Act and subsequent legislation, much that happened in the name of community education in England came under the aegis of local education authorities (LEAs), with which it often had an uneasy relationship.

As the powers of LEAs have changed in the context of 'market forces', the new vocationalism, and a demand for measurable results, so the possibilities for community education have changed too. In 1987, Allen and others saw it as 'an agenda for educational reform'. A decade later, little mention is made of community education in the policy documents of national or local government, and practitioners spend much of their time seeking funding for their work from European and other sources.

If the possibility of articulating the wholeness of community in terms of spirituality, and therefore of admitting such a discourse into the analysis of community education, was largely neglected in the latter's heyday(1) now might seem to be a highly inauspicious time to try to readmit that possibility. However, despite many contra-indications, I think there are signs that the approach of the Millennium, and its promise of new beginnings, is fostering new ways of understanding old concepts and, in consequence, of developing new kinds of practice.

World-views

I have suggested elsewhere (Hunt, 1993) that the tensions in many Western societies may represent a tussle between two opposing world-views. One, which the Thatcher government in Britain sought to perfect, and which shows little sign of relinquishing its power over institutional structures and processes, is rooted in a Newtonian view of the universe. This sees a world 'out there' where facts are objective, everything is reducible to its constituent parts, all things are measurable, and people are little more than cogs in a vast 'Society Machine'. The other, perhaps exemplified in the *Gaia* metaphor, is a systemic view which acknowledges not only the inseparability of the physical relationships between people and planet but the importance of inner space and the expansive power of the mind to break free of its own creations.

The explosion of popular literature on such topics, and the proliferation of 'alternative' therapies, awareness groups and so on, perhaps testify to the growing strength of the second view. However, as Skolimowski (1994: *xii*), one of its most influential proponents, points out, many such books and activities 'deliver an emotional salvation but only for a weekend'. He proposes nothing short of a new philosophy based on the notion of the 'participatory mind'. I think it has important implications for professional practice in education generally.

Skolimowski describes the relationship between the universe and the mind in terms of a 'spiral of understanding'. The universe is represented by a cone opening upwards. What is within the cone is the 'known and knowable universe' (p.79); it contains the sum total of all knowledge, depicted as a spiral moving upwards inside the cone. Thus, while the cone and spiral may look like, and be spoken of as separate entities, one cannot exist without the other. In consequence, 'as knowledge unfolds *so the universe enlarges*' (Skolimowski, 1994: 82; original emphasis). This holds as true for the individual's 'private' universe as it does for that of communities, cultures and what is known collectively by humankind: it seems to be a good argument for critical reflection on, and re-visioning of, the state of all our universes!

Skolimowski's (pp.240-241) 'Yoga of Participation' (a set of strategies/ principles), based on conscious and continual restructuring of one's individual spiral of understanding, does, in fact, provide a sound basis for both personal and professional development(2). There are also a number of interesting parallels between Skolimowski's 'yoga' and principles that have traditionally underpinned the work of adult and community educators. For example, facilitating the processes by which individuals and local communities become aware of their conditioning, assumptions and underlying values, and how these guide and manipulate action and thought, is a crucial element of most forms of community education.

'Participation' (in public services, decision-making and so on) has long been a watchword in community education, particularly towards the radical end of its spectrum. However, where the more radical forms of community education perhaps part company from a participatory philosophy rooted in a Gaian notion of the interconnectedness of mind and matter, is in their Newtonian assumption that one form of (usually political) reality can simply be removed and replaced by another. Rooted in a belief in progress through conflict, they exaggerate difference and encourage separatist views which are almost an antithesis of what I am suggesting a sense of community could represent.

Nevertheless, observed in their entirety, the many forms of community education that have been developed in England in the past century, and the way in which these have been theorised, would seem to constitute a pattern that is not only consistent with Skolimowski's participatory world-view but which contains a crucial space for spirituality.

Modelling a space for spirituality

Classic typologies/models of community education

Although there is no room to describe them in detail, I shall draw in the following discussion on five typologies. They were developed during the 1980s in an attempt to theorise the complexity of practice that was then subsumed under the umbrella of community education. Developed, respectively, by Martin (1987); O'Hagan (1987); Fletcher (1987); Clark (1985); and Lovett, Clarke and Kilmurray (1983), each typology has a different starting point and contains between three and five separate models.

Martin's three models, for example, are based on the origins and development of what appear to be qualitatively different ideologies underpinning practice. The first, 'Universal', model stems from the community college movement pioneered by Henry Morris in the 1920s and 1930s; the 'Reformist' model is rooted in the work of Plowden and the establishment of Educational Priority Areas in the 1960s and 1970s; the 'Radical' model developed out of innovative work in the Community Development Projects during the same period.

O'Hagan also proposes three models which he labels 'Efficiency', Enrichment' and 'Empowerment': reflected in the names, he claims, is the purpose envisaged for education. Fletcher's three models are concerned with the nature of the relationship between community educators and the local community. Clark's earlier analysis of practice revealed five 'levels' of interpretation of community education's purpose. These range from the pragmatic, cost-effective use of plant, to overtly political education and social action. Lovett's four models cover similar ground but focus on the differences between, and advantages/disadvantages of, community 'organisation', 'development' and 'action' and 'social action'.

Underpinning discourses

Despite their distinctive nature, when these typologies/models are set next to one another, it is possible to discern within them three quite distinct discourses which have clearly informed the practice and analysis of community education. In deference to the editors' plea to avoid diagrams, I will not try to illustrate the parallels between the typologies here - but picture, if you will, a summary of the five different analyses placed one below the other. Since Clark's five levels can be reduced to three without losing much in the process, and Lovett's community and social action can be merged for the purposes of discussion, all five typologies can be depicted in three columns. Each of these columns represents a discrete model comprising very particular ideas and approaches to practice.

Those in the first one are largely concerned with *economics, individuals* and *specific places.* For example, education is seen as an economic tool and the cost-effective use of buildings and services is an important consideration. Provision, generally in the form of traditional classes, is made for individuals and often shaped by the Enlightenment tradition of developing intellectual capacity in order to create a better-informed citizenry. Activities are generally located within a specific place such as a school or community centre.

Key ideas underpinning the second model are of *social justice, individuals-in-communities,* and *place linked to lifestyle.* Education is viewed largely as a means of redressing imbalances in society by 'compensating' groups of individuals who have been forced to adopt particular lifestyles because of an apparent lack of earlier or current opportunities. The purpose of community education is to address the perceived needs of deprived or alienated groups by helping them to adjust better to life in the wider society. The possibility that the wider society itself might need 'adjustment' is not addressed.

By contrast, the possibility (and often deliberate encouragement) of *political challenge* is an important feature of the third model. Additionally the locus of control moves from 'providers' of education to members of local communities who, acting collectively and drawing on the expertise of community education facilitators, are expected to be able to effect change in the conditions, including the educational awareness and opportunities, of their own communities. Such *communities* are not necessarily (though they could be) located in a specific place but may be representative of shared interests, orientations or cultures within a single country, or even across the world. The term *'Unplace'* is useful to indicate the non-specific location of some of the communities - such as 'working class', gay or black - most often associated with this approach.

Three underpinning discourses can be identified by reading across the columns. In the preceding description I have italicised the key dimensions of these discourses. They seem to me to become progressively wider in terms of the social perspective they encompass, and increasingly dynamic in

their *modus operandi.* I have termed the discourses 'Economic-Political', 'Psychological-Sociological' and 'Geographical-Ecological'.
The first opens out from discussion of cost-effectiveness in what is regarded as an essentially homogenous society to encompass the notion of social justice in, and the 'enrichment' of, a plural society; it culminates in an overtly political interpretation of community education as a means of challenging and changing existing social structures. The field of consideration within the Psychological-Sociological discourse also expands as emphasis shifts from the individual as a consumer of educational provision to the impact of community action on educational and social structures. The third discourse, rooted in the specifics of place, moves into the more abstract notion of lifestyle and ultimately encompasses the 'unplace' of the symbolic dimensions of community.

Using imagery borrowed from both Skolimowski and Capra, I shall suggest, in conclusion, how a space for a fourth discourse - of spirituality - might be envisaged.

Extending Martin's typology

First, I want to return to Martin's (1987) typology. Originally developed in 1985, this has subsequently been extended to incorporate feminist and black perspectives (Dodds, 1985; Falken, 1988). Martin (1987: 29) notes that the 'acid test' of such extensions is 'the extent to which we regard the development of alternative interpretations as legitimate contributions to the continuing debate about definition'.

My own attempts to contribute to the debate about definitions of community/education in terms of spirituality have met with considerable resistance in the specific context of what is a 'legitimate' area of study for a PhD: it is a story about contested spaces which probably deserves its own airing elsewhere. However, a conference entitled, 'The Final Frontier', seems to encourage the risk of going beyond conventional academic restraints!

Though this is very much 'work in progress', therefore, I offer Figure 1 as an extension to Martin's typology. It draws on ideas and practices which, though not a conventional part of community education's territory, are nevertheless prevalent in an increasing number of informal adult education settings. I will be happy to discuss the detail of this model further during the conference session: I invite colleagues to consider it as a rationale for taking the more traditional community/education debate into a spiritual dimension; and to ponder the possible implications for practice.

Figure 1 : A spiritual model of community education (after Martin, 1987)

Implicit model of society/community	Unity within diversity.
Premise	Interconnectedness at a subtle (spiritual) level.
Strategy	Awareness/consciousness-raising groups and techniques; encouraging articulation of 'felt-realities'. Honouring full spectrum of human experience and consciousness. Holistic approaches, with celebration of difference. Acknowledgement and understanding of inter-relationships between group processes and individual learning
Initial focus	Personal development groups (including T-groups, Encounter groups *etc.*).
Key influences	Aldous Huxley ('perennial philosophy') James Lovelock (*Gaia*). M. Scott Peck ('community making'). John Heron (research into the human condition)
Twentieth-century	World War II: sense of 'unity'.
origins	Ecology movement: interdependence of living systems. Popularising of Eastern philosophical traditions and practices, especially meditation. 1960s: 'youth culture', including experimentation

	with hallucinogens; especially, development of shared language to describe associated inner experiences.
Dominant themes	'Whole-person' growth ('Know Thyself') Global village ('Think global, Act local') Recognition of personal and group responsibility ('As within, so without')

Conclusion

Whether or not such a model passes Martin's 'acid test', let me leave you with an image that I find rather appealing. I have suggested that underpinning existing models of community education there are three discourses. Because of their apparently expanding nature, it is easy to envisage them as lines depicting the outside edges of one of Skolimowski's 'cones'. They constitute, in effect, the outer walls of community education's own 'universe', sustained by a developing 'spiral' of what is known in practice and articulated through theory.

Imagine that you are looking down through the centre of that cone/spiral from its wide 'top' towards its narrower 'bottom'. Does it not now look remarkably like a web?

In the centre of a web, there is always a space. In the web of inter-relationships between theory and practice that define both community and community education, I suggest that this central space is that which has so often escaped definition. It can be seen only with 'wholistic' vision but it is the space where all connections begin: a space for spirituality?

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Notes

1. Clark (1992) is the key exception. He provides an overtly Christian perspective.
2. Reason (1988) describes how he has used this with a postgraduate research group. Heron (1996) draws on it in building his 'pyramid of fourfold knowing'.

Adult educator on the edge: exploring the place of learning and research in the life of an adult educator in the local authority sector

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Introduction

Synthesising the roles of teacher, researcher and learner can prove problematic for an adult educator, and nowhere more so than for someone working in the marginalised local authority sector, where the emphasis on practice at the expense of theory further isolates those attempting to do research. When, as the head of a large adult education centre, I decided to embark on a research project, I found myself accommodating a number of competing identities. I was now a part-time postgraduate research student, based at a considerable geographical distance from the university, attempting to straddle the very different worlds of local authority and university adult education. While the project itself was a case-study grounded in the working world of an adult education centre, the validation of that research depended upon its satisfying the requirements of a university Department of Continuing Education.

Spaces and places were critical to my making sense out of this complex experience. The study was situated within my place of work, and arose out of my concerns to support the part-time tutors whom I managed. There was therefore a sense of purpose to the project which was not only motivational for myself but for the tutors who participated. However, finding space and time for the study was problematic for us all as we juggled that commitment with work, family and all of life's other demands.

My decision as to where I was to register as a part-time postgraduate student was a very conscious one based on choice of supervisor, but here again space and place were issues. The distance of the university from where I lived made it necessary to devise a series of strategies to overcome the isolation and disjuncture which such a situation tended to engender.

The case-study itself was carried out using an action research methodology embedded within a phenomenological perspective. Research within this paradigm recognises the importance of the role of the researcher and her place within and impact upon the study. This paper aims to provide an insight into one researcher's experience, and to explore how far this supports evidence and theory elsewhere in the literature.

Researching the researcher

The literature on what it is like to be a researcher and individual development resulting from the practice of doing research has gradually increased as new paradigm methodologies have become accepted. However, as recently as 1991, Lanzara could claim:

> …research that actually studies the process itself, not just the outcomes, is almost non-existent. (Lanzara, 1991, p 288)

Six years later, Angela Brew could still make a similar, if less extreme statement.

> The research process has not traditionally been a subject for study. (Brew, 1997, p 61)

Perhaps the traditional view of the researcher as rigidly objective, eschewing the personal and subjective, de-personalised the role. From a positivist perspective, the notion of a researcher who develops during the process would add a whole layer of uncontrolled variables, calling into doubt the validity of the findings. In qualitative research undertaken from a phenomenological perspective, however, it is recognised that researchers are human beings operating within a social and cultural context, and therefore that impersonal objectivity is an unattainable ideal which has been accepted as part of the dominant, positivistic ideology. As Cocklin notes:

> …the conduct of research is a social and cultural enterprise. Thus the reality is often one where personal, political, ethical, methodological, economic and other factors exert influence. (Cocklin, 1996, p 88)

He also stresses 'the need to document the actual, as opposed to the ideal experiences faced by researchers in collecting, analysing and reporting data' (Cocklin, 1996, p 88) and goes on to describe the processes involved in his own research endeavours.

However, there is some considerable support in the literature for the notion of research as a developmental and learning process – what Usher and Bryant refer to as the 'generative and ultimately educative process of doing research itself.' (Usher and Bryant, 1989, p 161). My own experience would certainly confirm this view of research, and the action/reflection methodology which I adopted led me to a situation mirrored by Lanzara:

> To my surprise, I discovered that as I was helping my partners reflect on their own practice, I was also reflecting on my own. The reflective nature of our social interaction…led me to do with my own research work what I was doing with that of my partners, that is, to conduct a self-study of my own modes of inquiry and shifting understandings. (Lanzara, 1991, p 287)

Getting started

Undertaking a research project of this kind for a higher degree involved a huge learning effort on my part. What, then, were the motivating factors which led to my making the decision to embark upon the study and to continue with it over a five and a half year period?

As Alan Knox (1977, p 184) indicates, the factor most clearly linked to participation in continuing education is an individual's existing level of formal education. Such a link could be for a range of reasons, both extrinsic and intrinsic. Education may be seen as a means of achieving specific goals, especially those to do with occupational advancement, or an individual may achieve a sense of personal satisfaction, achievement and enjoyment from learning. In either case, the learner receives reinforcement in a behaviourist sense and so is more likely to continue to pursue yet more learning.

In my own case, I had achieved an honours Bachelor's degree many years previously and followed this with a Master's degree by research. I had therefore continued my formal education to quite a high level and had also experienced doing research. Even more significantly, however, I had very recently completed a Diploma in Training the Trainers and wished to maintain my ability to study and therefore to continue. Hence, I was a 'typical' participant in continuing education as defined by the literature in that I had quite a high level of formal education, and I also had a 'sense of educational efficacy' (Knox, 1977, p 187) in that having had the reinforcement of achieving a number of educational qualifications, I thought I might well be competent enough to attempt an even more demanding programme of study.

Fitting into the category of likely learner is, however, no guarantee that an individual will actually continue his or her education. Motivation must be sufficiently strong to counter the inevitable situational, institutional and dispositional barriers which adult learners face. (McGivney, 1993, p 17). The situational barriers most frequently identified in the literature are lack of time and cost. (Cross, 1981; Darkenwald and Merriam, 1982).

Managing a busy adult education centre and having a Service responsibility for staff development meant that I already had considerable demands on my time. However, there were a number of circumstances which coincided at the particular point where I was making the decision whether or not to attempt further study. First of all, in pursuing the Diploma, I had already learned to time-table study time into my busy schedule. Secondly, the breakdown of my marriage resulted in my having the perception of a greater amount of free time, or perhaps more individual control as to the way in which my time was spent.

The literature links decisions to take up further educational opportunities with major life changes, and in particular with marriage breakdown. Jarvis notes that one explanation suggested is that women return to education in such circumstances to gain qualifications to support themselves and their children. However, it would also be 'a feasible interpretation to suggest that the marriage breakdown also frees some people to return to full-time education.' (Jarvis, 1983, p 64).

A further slant on the situation is provided by Cyril Houle, when he notes that in certain instances marriage can present a situational barrier to continuing education.

> I believe that, no matter how intensely an individual may want to learn, he or she does not do so very actively if the marriage partner objects. The cost of participation on such terms is too great a price to pay. (Houle, 1961, p 43).

Time, however, is a very real constraint on all adult students, and especially where an individual is pursuing part-time study in addition to full-time work. Undertaking a doctoral degree in this way is also a very costly affair, and the Service was not prepared to support me, either in terms of cost or time. Therefore, it was important that my full-time employment was sufficiently well paid to make self-financing a possibility. I recognise that many potential adult students would not be in this position. In addition, I was now in a position to prioritise personal spending. I was fortunate, therefore, that although time and costs were to be problematic throughout the study, neither presented insurmountable barriers.

Having previously undertaken a degree by thesis, I was aware of the importance of maintaining motivation over an extended time scale and I had learned some valuable lessons about the type of project which would – or more specifically, would not – retain my sense of interest and involvement. My previous research had been a statistically based, empirical study and was therefore positivistic in orientation. I had realised because of that experience and later through the teaching and training I had undertaken that I was attitudinally more in tune with a phenomenological approach and qualitative methodology. Thus one of the reasons behind choice of topic and of method was an awareness that both were important if I were to remain sufficiently motivated to see the study to a conclusion.

A further factor which I had recognised as a consequence of my previous rather solitary experience as a researcher, and which had been reinforced by the contrastingly social aspect of adult teaching and training, was that contact with others in a learning enterprise created a sense of commitment which was itself motivating, and without it continued effort was often difficult. This again influenced my choice of topic and method, and certainly proved a powerful motivator, as I felt a continued sense of identification with and responsibility towards the group of research participants. The motivational aspect of this kind of involvement has been recognised by other researchers:

> Although it contradicted what are considered to be the twin canons of scientific methodology – objectivity and detachment – this admiration for independent learners turned out to be an important reinforcement at those times of apathy which occur for any researcher during a lengthy grounded theory study. (Brookfield, 1983, pp 49-50)

My previous experience as a research student had also taught me the importance of the role of supervisor in helping maintain motivation over a number of years. I was fortunate in being able to choose two supervisors whom I had already come to know as trainers, and whose values and approach to adult education I perceived as consonant with my own. The crucial nature of the relationship between supervisor and doctoral student to the success of the research project is acknowledged. Tim Hill points out the significance of that relationship in an article in the Independent newspaper (19/11/92), and in the same article, a doctoral student outlines the support role required of a good supervisor, concluding:

> Working for a PhD you are very much on your own and that can be very daunting. A supervisor has to be sympathetic to that.

As will be clear from the above account, there was a considerable amount of autonomy in my decision to undertake the study and in my planning to try to ensure that it continued and was completed. There is some link here with Tough's findings on the self-motivated independent learner and also a connection with andragogical models of learning. Both models envisage the self-directed adult, motivated in particular by an appreciation of the relevance and applicability of what is being learned to his or her life situation.

Developing as a researcher

The researcher in a qualitative study of this kind is not an objective 'outsider', but very much part of the process. As Usher and Bryant point out, action research:

> ...entails more than simply 'being involved'; rather, it necessitates, on the part of researchers themselves, a commitment to their own reflective practice of inquiry by acting as exemplars of a process that they wish to encourage in others. (Usher and Bryant, 1989, p 148)

To critically reflect upon the processes which I went through as a researcher, it was essential to have material to reflect upon, and the fact that I kept a log or journal throughout the project meant that I established from the beginning a reflective approach. The log proved doubly important, in that I could later return to it and reflect upon the original reflection in a process of meta-reflection. It also provided evidence of the phases of the research project, and of the highlights and difficulties encountered along the way. As Walden notes:

> Through reflective writing, each writer learns to step back from the immediacy of her subjective experience, shift perspective, and generate and examine options. Finally, a journal offers an opportunity to engage in dialogue with the self in ways that further a woman's development as a constructed knower (Walden, 1995, p 13)

One of the things which surprised me on the numerous occasions when I re-read the early log entries covering the first phase of the research was the apparent clarity of vision about what I wanted to do and how I wanted to do it, and that much of the vision was realised in the research. I find it surprising, because I know I didn't experience it as that. I can still vividly recall the feelings of anxiety and self-doubt with which I began my time as a researcher. One of the key benefits of the log, therefore, was that the discipline of actually writing down my thoughts helped to clarify them.

Moreover, the log became a key technique in maintaining a dialogue with my supervisors, even when they weren't there. They were the 'audience' I was writing for as I set down my thoughts and experiences on the page. I then sent copies off to them and this provided material for dissection at our next meeting. Thus the log was a central and on-going element in our supervisory conversation.

Through the log, also, I was later able to trace developments in my ideas and approach that I was unaware of as they were happening – changes which tended to reveal themselves through shifts in language. One such development was in my view of the role of the part-time tutors in the project. At the design stage, I referred to the tutors and myself as 'joint subjects and researchers'. As the case-study group formed, I looked upon them as 'co-researchers rather than subjects...' Shortly afterwards, I was referring to them as 'co-researchers/participants' and the customary term remained

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participants from that point onwards. The underlying process here is echoed by Munby and Russell in their study of teachers' language, and in particular of metaphors:

> Our work with metaphors has made us attend carefully to how descriptive language is used. Thus we have become aware of the importance of referring to the teachers we have studied as participants, rather than as subjects. The meanings attached to 'subject' extend deeply into power and coercion... (Munby and Russell, 1990, p 120).

Through the log, then, can be traced the phases of the research project itself and my own development as a researcher. The six phases into which the project can be broken down are fairly distinct. The first phase involved deciding the approach to the study, and initial background reading on both topic and method. The second phase covered the setting up and commencement of the case-study. A lengthy third phase focused on the established case-study, while the fourth was concerned with drawing the research project to a close. An intensive fifth stage found me trying to make sense of the data and relate it to the literature, while the final phase involved writing up the research.

While this catalogue of research phases may give the impression of a logical and seamless progression, and I was certainly aware of each impending shift which I had to make, what I experienced on each occasion was a fresh surge of anxiety and self-doubt when contemplating committing myself to the next stage of the project. My response to this was to enthusiastically prolong the current phase! Perhaps this was most clearly evident in the struggle I had to actually draw the study to a close. By that time, the case-study groups were well-established, were appreciated by their members, were continuing to generate some exciting findings, and there always seemed to be something even more exciting coming over the horizon. Besides, I had invested a great deal into the study and therefore had an emotional attachment which was now hard to break. At the outset, I had referred in the log to the project as 'my baby', but had not at that stage recognised the full implications of that metaphor. Most significantly, however, by prolonging the project I could put off the terrifying prospect of trying to make sense of all the data.

It was contextual factors, as well as the direction of the research itself, which eventually helped to decide the finishing point for the study. As the groups developed increasing autonomy, they began to identify divergent purposes which would draw them away from the research question. External factors such as local government reorganisation, and a consequent new professional role for myself, drew me away physically from the base which had given rise to the research project and which had provided the members of the case-study groups. Once again, therefore, place proved a critical factor in my experience as a researcher. The physical distance also provided the intellectual and emotional distance I needed to begin to analyse the data and give a form to the findings.

Undertaking a major research project as a part-time student concurrently engaged in full-time work was for me a struggle through Schon's 'swampy lowland' with its 'messy, confusing problems'. (Schon, 1987 p 3). But it also proved to be an unparalleled reflective and experiential learning experience. During the course of the project, I learned - or re-learned - about being a researcher, and this identity was confirmed through dialogue with the literature. I increasingly accepted responsibility for my own learning, and developed independence and self-direction as a learner, something which Brew recognises as characteristic of researchers.

> Researchers learn while carrying out research and as such they can provide excellent examples of independent, autonomous adult learners. (Brew, 1997, p 61)

The project was also professionally developmental for me as an adult educator. I learned - or re-learned - to see adult education and professional development from the perspective of the part-time tutor, and I learned how to facilitate learning groups more effectively, how to listen more acutely, and to pose questions more constructively. In the final analysis, the insider/ outsider role required from a researcher in this kind of project may be a difficult one to sustain and may involve competing identities, but its potential for personal development is considerable.

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High Way, My Way, No Way, Third Way - locating social purpose learning in a Risk Society?

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This paper will attempt to re-view and re-consider ideas of social purpose learning in the overall context of a contemporary Risk Society. It arises out of my own struggle as an adult educator to make sense of contradictory and divergent influences on my values and purposes in a time of rapid social and cultural change. On the one hand, I have considerable experience and understanding of, and commitment to, social purpose adult education and its values and continue to assert its relevance in the context of an acknowledged contemporary Learning Divide. Yet, I also recognise the difficulty of pursuing social purpose education uncritically and unreflexively in a contemporary postmodern or late modern world where, within the new and powerful discourse of lifelong learning, employability is foregrounded, human capital considerations are dominant and diverse forms of adult learning are flourishing in an increasingly consumer-oriented and marketised world. In the context of a Risk Society, the terms of engagement for social purpose adult educators may need to be reconsidered.

A Risk Society

Ulrich Beck identifies a Risk Society as being typified by uncertainty and risk, a new phase of late modernity, 'reflexive modernization', where the very conditions that facilitated the development of modern industrial society become problematic themselves and where modern institutions increasingly struggle to cope with the global insecurity of life (Beck, Giddens and Lash 1994). Giddens makes an instructive distinction between 'external', often predictable, risk and 'manufactured' risk, which is created by human development:

> ....manufactured uncertainly intrudes directly into personal and social life - it isn't confined to more collective settings of risk. In a world where one can no longer simply rely on tradition to establish what we do in a given range of contexts, people have to take a more active and risk-infused orientation to their relationships and involvements. (Giddens and Pierson, 1998: 210)

Confirming evidence of manufactured risk can be drawn from a range of contemporary developments across the world, for example, environmental problems like nuclear power and global warming, increasing health and food scares, various government retreats from welfare provision and a growing emphasis on individual responsibility for 'employability', keeping ahead of the game within a volatile, highly competitive global labour market. Providing the wherewithal for coping with all these risks is a key imperative of a learning society and is central to the rationale for lifelong learning.

Re-viewing Different Adult Education Traditions

> 'Tradition is only an illusion of permanence' (Woody Allen in 'Deconstructing Harry')

Within a Risk Society, Beck, Giddens and Lash (1994: vi) identify the key process of 'detraditionalization': 'in the context of global cosmopolitanism, traditions are today called upon to defend themselves: they are routinely subject to interrogation.' This section of the paper will attempt to interrogate the social purposes within three different adult education traditions. I have characterised these as: 'High Way', radical adult education, 'My Way', liberal adult education and 'No Way', postmodern adult learning. In re-viewing these different traditions, I will combine experiential reflections and personal insights with more reported, academic analysis in an attempt to be more immediate, more honest, more instructive, perhaps more provocative, as I try to focus on some of the questions which have pre-occupied me as I have developed my career as an adult educator.

High Way

My own decision to become an adult educator in the mid 1970s was largely shaped by the attraction of the High Way, the promise of **radical adult education** changing society, as theorised by Freire (1972) and practised in a UK context by Tom Lovett (1975). Like a lot of adult educators, I was drawn towards the high moral ground of the High Way and its commitment to 'praxis' in the interests of social justice, greater social and economic equality, a critical democracy. I wanted to engage with and foster 'really useful knowledge', knowledge which was political, practical and dynamic and 'calculated to make you free' (Johnson 1988).

Today the High Way still attracts and influences me. The energy, vision and commitment of its proponents can be an inspiration to students and educators alike and its critical engagement a necessary counterpoint to both the complacency of a 'culture of contentment' (Galbraith 1992) and the regulation and surveillance induced by 'quality' standards. At the same time, its emphasis on the structural influences, if not determinants, of our subjectivities, culture and learning and its analysis of the role of the mainstream education system in social and cultural reproduction serve as a necessary antidote to over optimistic aspirations for educational agency.

However, these very strengths may incorporate crucial weaknesses. In the context of a contemporary Risk Society, key questions have been raised about the radical tradition's determinism, its class reductionism, its circumscription of educational agency, its failure to acknowledge 'difference', the over-wide gap that exists between rhetoric and reality, between the public and the private; its marginalisation and reliance on 'guerrilla tactics', its vanguardism' (Luke and Gore 1992, Usher, Bryant and Johnston 1997).

My own experience accords with these critiques to some extent. However, the most overwhelming problem I have encountered with the radical tradition has been its inclination towards a totalising approach, its creation of 'regimes of truth', characterised by feminists and postmodernists as, amongst other things:

> ...a tendency to overlook context, an overly simplistic conception of power as property, the theoretical pronouncement of discourses as liberatory, a lack of reflexivity (Gore 1992: 63)

I have certainly seen radical adult educators in their unreflexive zeal for emancipatory social change construct a world that does not exist. Their vision has obscured or distorted prevailing social conditions and their analysis has precluded the views of learners, they talk liberation yet exercise control - little surprise then that some erstwhile radicals have transformed themselves into quality tsars! Indeed, in my past work with unwaged adults, I have certainly had to learn that my idea of empowerment, based on a critical macro analysis of the labour market, needed to relate much more closely to many unwaged adults' micro idea of empowerment, getting a job (often any job!) if it was to make any meaningful impact on their lives and attitudes. To dismiss their attitudes as 'false consciousness' was just too dismissive, self-serving and totalising.

The radical adult education tradition stands accused of being over 'teleological and totalising', of being too unidirectional and inflexible to cope with rapid socio-economic change, increasing cultural diversity and the emergence of new and disparate social movements (Usher et al 1997). If it is to prosper in times of growing uncertainty, much depends on how the 'grand narrative' that has so shaped a radical adult education approach can take due account of changing social and cultural conditions. A central question is how it can sustain a social purpose without being over prescriptive, whether and how it can continue to be teleological without being totalising.

My Way

The above analysis seems to be a plea for a greater reflexivity, a more liberal and flexible approach to social purpose adult education. Thus it may be appropriate now to re-view the **liberal adult education** tradition. My characterisation of liberal adult education as 'My Way' relates mainly to the scope it allows for individual educator autonomy, although it may also rely a little (too much) on sporadic flash-backs of a 'Sinatra syndrome' within adult education, where a middle-aged, male mafia attempt to carve out influence and territory through their exclusive wheeler-dealing and power-broking. The liberal tradition, possibly the most influential of all adult education traditions, would appear to have the requisite breadth and plasticity to pursue social purpose learning within the complexities and contradictions of a Risk Society. Certainly its epistemology appears to be both relevant and flexible in its aim of:

> providing individuals with knowledge which they can use collectively to change society if they so wish, and particularly equipping members of the working class with the intellectual tools to play a full role in a democratic society or to challenge the inequalities and injustices of society in order to bring about radical social change (Fieldhouse 1992: 11)

Most of my working life as an adult educator has been enmeshed in the broad church of liberal adult education, first in Community Colleges, then on a Replan project with unwaged adults and finally in a relatively traditional University Department of Adult Continuing Education. I have welcomed the autonomy to do things 'My Way', the voice and space it has allowed me, albeit on the margins of the margins, and the focus on democracy and dialogue within any micro teaching context. I have drawn ideas and inspiration from a range of work within this tradition, for example the Pioneer work with unwaged and community groups at Leeds (Ward and Taylor 1986), and have learned from the different liberal adult education engagements with citizenship (Benn and Fieldhouse 1997) and widening participation (Preece et al 1998).

The liberal adult education tradition has been criticised for its modernist reliance on rationality, for its value-free conceit, for its patriarchal culture, (shared with the radical tradition), for the individual agency it assumes and constructs and its implication in 'possessive individualism', for its elitist and potentially domesticating allegiance to 'education for its own sake'(see Thompson 1980, Usher and Edwards 1996).

Through my own experience, I can again relate to these criticisms. But for me the overwhelming difficulty of the liberal adult education tradition arises out of chequered origins and history and its very breadth of appeal which ensures that 'it has always been a mixture of the democratic and the elitist, the conservative and the radical, the liberating and the oppressive.' (Usher and Edwards 1996: 51). Notwithstanding the wider, critical analysis and social purpose commitment of some notable practitioners, in my experience these have often been lost or obscured within a broad church of liberal adult education which has failed to problematise the differential impact on adult learners of economic and cultural capital. This lays it open to the charges of adopting a self-serving over-emphasis on the role of education in changing society, an over-reliance on an uncritical conception of equality of opportunity and hence a 'quietist' stance which serves mainly to support the socio-economic and political status quo. My own recent work in trying to attract 'non-traditional' students into Higher Education through a Widening Provision project tends to confirm this. In Southampton, the aim of widening provision has always had to struggle against a Departmental reductionism, fuelled both by external target numbers, that 'a student is a student is a student is a unit cost'. This has been re-inforced by a conservative culture based on sameness, which embodies a resistance to any form of positive action, and an implicit epistemological position that equates difference with deficit (Johnston and Croft 1997). If the radical tradition has been guilty of staying out on the margins and 'preaching to the converted', the liberal tradition has preferred to 'keep it in the family', failing to challenge or escape from the comfort zone of mainstream education.

No Way

In the last decade, a postmodernist approach has developed an increasing influence on adult education discourse. It has played a key role in critiquing and interrogating both the liberal and radical traditions. I have characterised this approach as 'No Way', as it fundamentally challenges the universal concepts of progress and enlightenment which underpin modernist grand narratives. In place of the mission of liberal adult education and the promised emancipation of the radical tradition, a postmodern perspective on adult education offers a focus on deconstruction, diversity and decentredness. A postmodern epistemology is incredulous about the knowledge claims of modernist discourses and grand narratives

and so calls into question the very idea of social purpose education.
My own attitude to postmodern ideas in education has changed over time from incomprehension to hostility to a reluctant appreciation of their critical contribution to contemporary debates about the place of adult learning in a Risk Society. Certainly, they have given me new tools to re-view and critique adult education orthodoxies. They have helped me to move away from over-simplistic polarities of position, to more readily take on board the politics of identity and difference, to acknowledge the place of desire in adult learning, to recognise and analyse further the power of language and appreciate the influence of 'textuality', to identify the liberatory potential of new social movements. However, as much as anything, I welcome the postmodern emphasis on the 'ludic', which prevents us (modernist) educators taking ourselves too seriously (even if postmodernists can sometimes be a bit too studied and serious about all this) and offers considerable potential for creative irreverence and subversion. I am still working on this!

A postmodern perspective in education has been criticised for its lack of direction and vision, its moral relativism, its nihilism, its arrogance, its self-indulgent pre-occupation with lifestyle, its linguistic over-complexity and obfuscation, its implication with capitalism, even with fascism (Taylor 1998, Flecha 1998, Johnston 1995). Again I can relate to many of these criticisms, although I can't help reflecting that their very vehemence and hostility is indicative of the threat a postmodern perspective seems to pose to the very raison d'etre of some modernist educators. From my own experience, while such a postmodern perspective provides valuable critiques of and insights into adult education orthodoxies and complicities, it still fails me in offering any alternatives for practice, any theory of action. Certainly the ideas within a 'postmodernism of resistance' (Luke and Gore 1992) and a greater focus on local narratives offers some way forward. However, within the specific context of higher education, I still can't help reflecting that while we talk 'subjectivity', 'diversity' and 'situatedness', we are still required to jump uniformly and slavishly through the hoops of a research selectivity exercise which drives us further apart from our students and a quality regime that encourages and rewards uniformity and conformity. There is a real danger of the 'praxis' of established grand narratives being replaced only by the helpless and hapless imperatives of the new back-door grand narrative of 'globalisation' - indeed this might account for the, at times, schizophrenic positions adopted by some postmodern educators within a Fordist Higher Education system. If the liberal and radical traditions are still too bound up in their different ways in sameness without sensitivity, pursuing a telos without texture, postmodern educators are maybe caught in the trap of analysis without action, diversity without direction!

The Third Way - exploring new terms of engagement

> A newspaper poll found that fewer than one in twenty people could explain the government's third way. Some thought it was a religious cult, others a sexual position, and one man asked if it were a plan to widen the M25 (Keith Waterhouse, The Observer 27/11/98)

The final part of this paper will focus critically on the potential and problems for social purpose learning offered by the Third Way approach of lifelong learning. I call it the Third Way because unlike any of the traditions mentioned earlier and in common with the Third Way of Giddens, Blair and beyond, it is moving centre stage in terms of social policy. With its underpinning economic rationale, its ubiquitous and ambiguous development and its modernising appeal that extends beyond left and right, it is not surprising that it has become 'the new mantra for social democratic politicians' (Giddens 1998:109). In relation to lifelong learning, I will consider the implications for forms and purposes of adult learning and the work of adult educators of some of the key concepts and issues identified by Anthony Giddens (1998) in his recent book 'The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy'. In doing this I will focus on two key concepts: the social investment state and the renewal of civil society.

A key aspect of Third Way politics is a focus on the **social investment state** which incorporates a re-working of the Keynesian/Marshallian welfare consensus ('no rights without responsibilities') and an emphasis on active labour market policies. Central to all this is the idea of 'employability' and the need for investment in human capital - this is clearly where Lifelong Learning gains much of its current impetus. The idea of investment in human capital is attractive for politicians and educators alike, but it also raises a number of key questions. As Schuller (1998:16) points out, in pursuing the metaphor of education as investment, we need to think about exactly who is making the investment, what is the opportunity cost, who is receiving the returns and how are these to be measured? Indeed, recent research at Cardiff University points to the failure of conventional human capital theory to explain adequately *individual* decisions made about participating in Higher Education (Times Higher Education Supplement 9/4/99). So what about societal investment in human capital? In the broader context of an acknowledged and growing Learning Divide, the danger is that this form of investment, unless it is made selectively, only serves as a form of regressive taxation and achieves the opposite of the greater social justice aspired to by Third Way politicians. In promoting human capital investment within a 'flexible' labour market and in the interests of increasing 'employability' within a Risk Society, it is employees and prospective employees who end up bearing most of the risks and taking most of the responsibilities. Here, there is growing evidence that the UK government's New Deal approach to active employment is making a contribution to greater social inclusion in the UK (Bivand, 1999), even in some instances to the development of a new cadre of social purpose educators who acknowledge and can readily work with human diversity. (Shewstone 1999). However, such active labour market measures are still contained within an overall policy direction that is still very much top-down, integrationist and statist. They may also need to be complemented by a focus on learning within civil society.

Giddens identifies the **renewal of civil society** as being a key aspect of the Third Way: 'an increasingly reflexive society is also one marked by high levels of self-organisation' (Giddens 1998: 80). He sees this renewal of civil society as involving new social movements and being concerned about, amongst other things, the protection of the public sphere, involvement of the third sector, community renewal through harnessing local initiative and government and civil society in partnership. This would appear to imply a greater focus on learning within civil society where a recent resurgence of interest can perhaps be detected, reflecting a search by learners and educators for autonomous space and room for diversity, away from the prescriptions, regulations and bureaucracy of formal education systems, and bolstered by a growing focus on new forms of citizenship, particularly active citizenship, within a Risk Society.

Within civil society, the growth of new social movements is a key feature and a range of social purpose educators are currently exploring ways of tuning into or influencing their approach to learning. The question is how exactly educators can engage meaningfully with social movements and to mutual advantage. Here an exciting and instructive development is the re-emergence of a Popular Education movement which embodies a radical and political educational agenda, a focus on local narratives, a respect for difference and experiential knowledge, and hence a due modesty and reflexivity about the aims and purposes of educators. In developing his rationale for popular education, Martin identifies four aspects of the 'curriculum' of social movements which offer scope for collaboration with social purpose educators, namely their wider ontological questioning, their holistic understanding of learning and living, their 'organic' rationality which questions the claims of the 'systems' world over the 'life world' and their assertion of human agency, the capacity of people to choose, to make a difference (Martin 1999:11). Certainly popular educators can point to a range of examples of cultural action and learning where social movements and educators have worked together to some common purpose. (see Crowther, Martin and Shaw 1999, CREA 1999, Centre for Popular Education, Sydney) Interestingly and significantly, many of these collaborations involve community groups and social movements that do not have a long-standing, explicit and fully-formed political agenda, but are responding to particular circumstances, threats and opportunities within a Risk Society where they are often, as Jarvis (1197: 163) puts it 'acting in defence of the public realm, concerned with the autonomy of the people'.

Such collaboration suggests new and flexible forms of adult learning within civil society and new roles of engagement for educators involving a more open-ended and democratic epistemology, a greater educator modesty and reflexivity and more explicit understanding that, for example, community and voluntary groups, are capable of, and are already, generating their own knowledge and understanding through their experience and activities in civil society. However, within a contemporary Risk Society, these new forms of adult learning and educator engagement may need also to be developed beyond already formed groups with an identified or identifiable common purpose if we are to extend our work further than 'learning with, if not preaching to, the converted'.

A further key task for social purpose educators may be to recognise and not just wish away the 'individualization' which is part of a Risk Society and at the same time try to tackle the social effects of individualization where 'the more the demand to make one's own life becomes acute, the more material poverty becomes a double discrimination', that is through lack of material rewards and lack of capacity for autonomy (Giddens 1994: 118). To me, this suggests two further forms of engagement for social purpose adult educators. The first is to develop learning and action that recognises the link between the state and civil society, between formal and non-formal learning, between human and social capital, avoids the dangers of isolating work with social movements and looks towards the possibilities of democratizing, influencing, inter-connecting with and diversifying, if not liberating, state education from its worst constrictions, controls and complicities. The second involves ways of capitalising and building on the individual skills, knowledge and learning that already exist in society so that identity and difference can be respected but common purposes and common interests also identified, to the mutual benefit of individuals and society as a whole. Earlier empirical work has indicated that:

> Life circumstances, technology, personal needs, the needs of others, the requirements of social structures, change around one and adaptation, involving learning, becomes necessary (see Percy and Johnston 1998:94)

Indeed, such a process becomes more likely and inevitable as we progress further into a Risk Society. With this in mind, it may be time to re-vitalise and re-contextualise Illich's ideas of learning exchanges, networks of things and networks of people (Illich 1971) as a way of coping with and countering the worst aspects of individualization. Unfortunately, time and space preclude further investigation of these themes in this paper.

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Different theatres, different audiences: the arts and the education of adults

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During many years of organising conferences on the arts in adult education there have been numerous occasions when I have been concerned that proposals for papers were, in my view, either 'not art education' or 'peripheral to art education'. Over the years it has become clear that there are many adult education practitioners who thought that they were involved in an aspect of the arts in adult education but who, to my mind, were not. I have recently begun to think that their work deserved more attention and to regret what might have been a too hasty initial judgement about what space it occupied in the arts in adult education.

This sort of adult education arts work occupied different spaces in the education of adults to the work in the arts with which I was familiar and which fitted easily into the conceptual frameworks I habitually used. The opportunity to write this paper has allowed me to focus on this other type of arts activity and to try to locate it in relation to those spaces in adult education occupied by mainstream arts work.

To illustrate this analysis I will draw on work from unpublished papers and from abstracts submitted for conferences as well as from more regular published sources.

In an abstract submitted for an arts and adult education conference, Susan Taylor (1997) writes as follows:

> When many of us think of drama, we envision theatre with a stage and rows of spectators. Indeed, the term 'drama' does not usually conjure up an image of a diabetes education session... The presenters have used drama and humour to facilitate learning about diabetes with clients and other health care providers. They have also used it to educate other diabetes educators about educational theatre... By conveying everyday situations and using everyday language that people experience in their day-to-day lives, the fear, stigma and confusion of the diabetic condition becomes more manageable. Drama is one way in which educators can enhance the quality of their education programme. This educators' sharing session will explore the reasons why drama, humour and diabetes education are a great mix... Dramatic sketches which involve the audience, use humour and explore issues related to living with diabetes will be enacted. Research findings pertaining to the barriers that may prevent health educators from using drama and humour in their work will be presented.

Renata Malcer Dymarska (1997) in an abstract for the same conference writes:

> '*Museum of Stories*' is an open archives (sic) collecting relations and stories about experiences of inhabitants of Gdansk and our region. The stories will be recorded on paper, tapes and video. There are also photos, journals and other things connected with the stories. All of them will be placed in the *Museum*.
> The purpose of the archives is to present a really alive history, individual subjective stories. It should be a possibility for everyone to add his own personal experiences, memories to objective factual history.....
> Gdansk played a very important part in the newest Polish history. There is a place where political changes began and where Solidarity was born.'

In an abstract which shows how story telling can encourage participation in corneal grafting schemes, D. M. S. Dissamayake (1997) writes;

> The Buddha, it is said, from time to time related stories of his previous lives in order to illustrate different points of doctrine. More than five hundred such Jathaka stories are handed down orally and later written down.
> The story goes that King SIVI, who was a great philanthropist, once asked a blind beggar what he needed. " Oh great Sire, what else do I need except sight?" was his reply. The King summoned his personal physician and enquired whether sight could be restored to the poor man. After careful consideration the physician answered in the affirmative, but only if a pair of fresh eyes are available. The King offered his own eyes and when the physician declined, the King gave an order and the operation was performed without delay. Ultimately, vision was restored to the blind man.

In a paper given at the 5th International Conference on Adult Education and the Arts in Jerusalem Mary Hawkins (1996) writes about Arts Centres and Arts Associations thus:

> In some, programmes are wide and participatory and break down racial barriers and previous social attitudes to the arts through multi-media activities - although perhaps the generation gap is at its widest within the cultural sphere. Some centres are trying to foresee the likely effect of being within a new unitary authority. Arts centres are enabling people to do things impossible anywhere else. Earlier this year a conference in Nottingham entitled 'The Art of Regeneration' was held in a mood of optimism as local government officials spoke of witnessing or facilitating " a resurgence of arts related activities", few of which would have been seen a few years ago. Is this due to a new enlightened attitude in local authorities or "a new boldness on the part of those engaged in the arts" or the arrival of the Lottery?

In a paper presented at the same conference, Paul Edelson writes;

> Initially my own area of focus was adult art education. This preoccupation was tied to my own personal rediscovery of making art which had been submerged for over thirty years and wanting to be more creative myself. Then I applied it to leadership studies, another area of interest. I teach graduate and extra-mural courses on leadership. Wanting to be a better more creative leader. Combining both themes I taught a short course this winter on "Creativity and Leadership" to engineers and senior executives for a Long Island high-technology firm to help them become more creative and better leaders...
> ...The purpose of this initiative is to assist high-technology, formerly defence industry oriented companies, to redirect their productivity to peacetime industrial production. The firm I was to be working with designed high-technology components for military use and was now trying to develop product applications in transportation and health technology fields.

And finally, in a keynote address to the 4th International Conference on Adult Education and the Arts, Paul Nolan (1996:47) from Belfast argued for community arts as follows:

> That, to me, is a good illustration of how art can be used to *reflect* a community. And yet we know that art can do something else, something even more valuable. Not just expressing the values of an existing community but going beyond that. You see it is possible, I think, for art to actually *create* a new community, to allow new identifications to be made between people.

And (1996:48),

> Which is the function that art should have. To destabilise fixed ideas and existing identities; to help us find a new way of seeing, of hearing, of thinking of feeling. To help us move into a different space where different rules apply: the rules of rhythm, colour, line, form,

> movement, melody, harmony. And to find from those experiences new ways of experiencing our communities, our neighbours, our society.

The purpose of the above extracts is to give the reader a first idea of the range of activities which can be included in this category of provision which is not essentially arts education but somehow relates in a direct way to aspects of arts education. Above, we have examples from health education, local history, urban regeneration schemes, community development and leadership training. I could have included more examples from oral history projects, political education, transformative education, women's education, racial awareness training or environmental education, to name but some of the ways in which the arts are used.

These activities, which are perceived by many as being part of the arts in adult education, stand alongside the regular arts courses which most of us would recognise. These include painting classes, literature courses, art history, music appreciation and the like.

I have written before (Jones 1988:55-108) about the different ways in which people engage with the arts. They engage as either an audience for the arts, *appreciators*; as creative writers, painters, sculptors, choreographers or composers, *creators*; or as actors, singers, musicians or dancers, *participators* in the arts. Insofar as the examples quoted above relate to arts activity we can see that here also people engage in the arts in these three different ways.

It is no wonder that from one perspective, what they're doing may get confused with straightforward art activity; no wonder that they appear to occupy the same adult educational space. Nor is it a question of whether or not these activities reinforce cultural values or seek to develop them. Both in orthodox arts courses and in these courses, which use the processes of the arts, we can find examples of approaches which seek to teach the canon of great work which is enshrined in a culture, as well as examples of work which seeks to promote and develop that culture, the new and daring work of the avant garde.

The distinction which is becoming clear here is that between education **in** the arts and education **through** the arts. On the one hand, we have those classes whose primary purpose is to encourage people to engage with the arts in one of the ways described above. These take place, both literally and metaphorically, in spaces recognised as belonging to arts activity. These are the studios and galleries, the theatres and concert halls, the libraries and the cinemas of the contemporary arts world.

On the other hand we have those adult education activities where the arts are seen as instrumental. Where arts activities are used to promote other ends; outcomes which are extrinsic to the arts. These latter take place in different arenas. They take place in health centres and in community spaces, in factories and offices, in the open air or round a camp fire.

If we analyse these activities in conventional pedagogic terms we can see that they have different aims and objectives. In the first case, the aims will be to do with the creation of, participation in or enjoyment of the arts. In the second case the aims will be to do with a healthy community, a new self awareness, more creative businessmen or a new community spirit.

And because the aims and objectives are different in educational terms, the way we evaluate the success of these programmes will be different. It is no use making comments about the painting if the purpose of the exercise is community development. Success here is measured, if indeed it can be measured, in terms of empowerment, of whether or not the community has developed a new identity and taken control of its own affairs.

Education through art, (some readers will remember the influential book by Herbert Read about child education which goes by this name) then, is that sort of adult education activity which uses arts activities to achieve ends which are tangential to the arts.

These two approaches to adult education in and through the arts merit closer examination. The analysis begs certain questions.

What is the nature of the creative, appreciative and participatory activity which students engage in when they are involved in education **through** the arts? Are these activities the same, of the same level of intensity and commitment, as those activities engaged in by people who are undertaking adult education activities **in** the arts? Is the nature of the creative activity engaged in by participants the same for both groups. Do both groups come to appreciate the arts in the same way? Do actors in community drama, or in a role-play undertaken as part of a political education course, become involved in portraying (adopting?) a role in the same way as professional actors?

I have explored the literature on creativity elsewhere (Jones:1998). By and large it is seen as a process which involves both conscious and unconscious processes. Many writers talk of the anxiety states inherent in creative work. Part of creative capacity is the ability to tolerate these anxiety states and resolve the unknown and unplanned aspects of the work in hand.

It is suggested that the artist perceives the work of art as having life of its own, telling the creator what to do next. The artist relates to the work like another person and enters into a dialogue with the work. Any desire to control the work should be resisted. The artist should be sensitive to the work and allow unconscious processes to operate, rather than try to think through the problems inherent in the work in a conscious analytical way.

Now, one can see that these abilities might be useful to someone in a leadership role and it may be that in leadership training involvement in the creative process at this level is a legitimate way to achieve the educational goals of the project. But can the same be said of community arts creative work? It has always been a puzzle to me how groups can engage in creative work. Either the theoretical framework is inadequate or there is something going on other than artistic creativity as it is understood in the literature.

In the literature on creativity it is suggested that the metaphorical images which are created, either visual, verbal or musical, arise from unconscious processes and these processes must be allowed free rein. It is difficult to see how a group could engage in this activity. Indeed, creativity is usually seen as a rather solitary affair with the artist interacting with the canvas in such a way that there is no awareness of anything taking place in the vicinity.

Experience suggests that if someone else were to participate in this activity, then the necessary level of involvement would be lost. An artist would quite simply resent someone else participating in this creative activity. Is there any such thing as group creativity?

Certainly in the visual arts it is difficult to conceive of such an activity. The gable-end murals which have arisen from so many community arts projects are often organised in such a way that participants act as technicians, doing what the artist who designed the work tells them. Su Braden (1978) has documented this in her study 'Artists and People'. Whilst there may be discussions about the subject matter, the professional is usually in control of the project and the local members of the community do no more than follow instructions.

These may be good enough to establish community ownership of the work and to achieve community development objectives but it is difficult to see how these people were genuinely involved in creative activity.

Examples from music and drama might be more helpful. Certainly the example of jazz provides us with a model of creative activity undertaken by several people. Just how this works and how the processes of creation unfold have not, to my knowledge, been documented. Certainly it represents a dynamic sort of creativity where those involved respond quickly and intuitively to the actions of others. The process moves quickly with no time to think in a rational logical way. The type of attention and perception required by this activity seems to be similar to what Bartley, (1980:19) refers to as a mode of personal existence. Jazz seems to fit somewhere between what he calls the 'appreciative mode' and the 'motoric mode';

> The first is the appreciative mode, which is the general state that characterises the individual at a symphony or at an opera or at an art gallery. The various patterns of impingement (of stimuli upon the senses) are reacted to with a disposition of extracting pleasure and appreciation. The organism is in a state of searching for understanding and pleasure.
> A second mode is called the motoric mode, this is exemplified by players in a game of football. The major responses to all that affect eyes and ears are motor. The players run, pause, pivot, avoid other players and so forth. These motor responses are perceptual responses.

Such modes of existence can be seen to operate in the group which is both listening to and appreciating the musical sounds made by other members of the group whilst at the same time using mouth, breath and hands to produce sounds which will complement those of the others.

Community drama offers a different model. Here members of the community construct a piece of drama. They may improvise; they may involve themselves in reminiscences. The play is constructed, but, as with the visual arts, this is often done under the guidance of a professional. Much of the work goes on at a conscious level and there is often little involvement in that type of creative activity described in the literature. Again, this involvement in a communal activity may be enough to achieve the aims of a community development project. Participants may well view each other in different ways, re-value their community, its history and traditions, and may even feel empowered by the experience to the extent that they wish to take a greater control over their lives. But I remain sceptical that the activity they were involved in could be described as creative in strictly artistic terms. Educational it undoubtedly was, but not creative in the sense that I have explained it.

One could approach appreciation in the arts in a similar way. Care must be taken not to become involved in fairly subjective value judgements. We are not concerned here with the relative merits of listening to classical music or folk music. We are asking if the processes involved in listening to a symphony in a music appreciation class are the same as those involved in a local folk club.

I realise that this is a loaded question. It challenges the status of the canon of good and great works which many adult educators feel they must promote. Just asking the question suggests that folk music should be accorded the same value and status as classical music. I believe it must. The last half of the twentieth century has seen the deconstruction of that grand narrative which was the history of European art and has seen it replaced by local narratives relating to local cultures.

The different spaces in which these activities take place embody different value systems. There are activities taking place in the name of art which may or may not be concerned with the arts as we have known them. Maybe it is time to reconsider what we mean by the arts and by creativity. It may be that by looking at those adult education activities which do not fit easily into our current conception of creative work, by exploring these different spaces in which adults work and learn, we can begin to work out a different, more inclusive conceptual framework.

In any event, it is clear that the ideas we have about art do not embrace all the educational activities which take place in its name. Only some of the spaces where adult education activities take place currently fit the bill. A reconceptualisation is called for which will illuminate these activities for the benefit of teachers and learners alike, so that we can all re-inhabit and reclaim the spaces for the arts in adult education.

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Making space: proximity, distance and gendered spaces in the further education of adults

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Introduction

This paper will explore ways in which recent changes and current trends in further education (FE) in England are contributing to a re-conceptualisation of issues of space, proximity and distance in the learning environment. It will be suggested that these newly configured spaces and relations are both gendered and raise questions about how accessible and welcoming the new FE is to adult students, in particular those for whom further education provides a 'second chance'.

Further education has gone through enormous changes in recent years. Colleges now operate within a competitive educational market, a new managerialism (Avis 1995; Randle and Brady 1997) has taken hold, and cuts in funding have become an annual occurrence. In many cases adult education institutes have become part of the new FE colleges, only to find their courses excluded from the funding criteria of the Further Education Funding Council. The last few years have been marked by staff redundancies and rising student numbers, and whilst teaching hours for lecturers have increased, course hours for students have decreased. College buildings and sites have been 'rationalised', often resulting in a concentration of teaching and learning activities on fewer, larger sites. At the same time there has been a rapid move towards 'resource based learning' and the establishment of new technologised learning environments. As some learning spaces/places are disappearing, others are being created.As Doreen Massey pointed out:

> Space and place, spaces and places, and our senses of them (and such related things as our degrees of mobility) are gendered through and through. Moreover they are gendered in a myriad different ways, which vary between cultures and over time. And this gendering of space and place both reflects *and has effects back on* the ways in which gender is constructed and understood in the societies in which we live (1994 p186).

Yet spaces and places are not only gendered. Class, ethnicity, age, ability and sexuality are also inscribed in different ways in different places. The paper will draw on research in two inner-city colleges to explore the changing spaces and spatial relations in further education.

Sites and Spaces for Learning

The two colleges in this study, like many around the country, are products of amalgamations between an adult education institute, a sixth form college and a further education college. Economic priorities have lead to the closure of many smaller sites and to the concentration of educational provision in larger centralised venues. In a competitive educational market, prestigious new buildings and 'state of the art' technology also become marketing essentials, providing another incentive for the 'rationalisation' of buildings. In both colleges, there were concerns amongst staff that the closure of some sites resulted in the college being less accessible to many students. In one college, a site that was closed was one of the few that was fully accessible for someone using a wheelchair, leading to a spirited but ultimately unsuccessful campaign to keep it open. Here one manager remarked with anger that rather than 'widening participation', the decimation of sites and much of the adult education provision within those sites amounted to a narrowing of participation. In the other college, a number of the lecturers who had been moved from smaller sites to a large newly built campus were also worried that many students would find the new site more remote and inaccessible. One senior lecturer explained: 'Physically I mean we've got so few sites now I just think for a lot of people education has got to be where they are in the first instance, they need to go to somewhere local'. Others commented on the increased travel costs which created particular barriers for poorer students. Yet it was not only issues of proximity that caused concern. The locality in which the campus is situated also helps to structure the meanings attached to the college and its accessibility. A senior manager explained that this new campus is situated in a traditionally white working class area with a history of right-wing racist activity. She asked 'how does that feel for many of the young black Afro-Caribbean students and staff?'

The move from smaller, local sites to larger campuses has, in these inner-city environments, been accompanied by increased security staff and/or security barriers, which, whilst they might be perceived as increasing the feelings of safety for those inside, also created additional barriers to access. One lecturer said:

> It's quite daunting to come in because you see all these security and I know from adult returners ... actually coming into a college is such a big thing ... then to be faced with all this security and barriers and it's really going to put (off) the people who we want to come in.

Whilst larger sites with a far greater diversity of student groups may be perceived as positive, the dominance of particular groups is potentially exclusionary and contributes to the social construction and meanings that become embodied within the site. One senior lecturer explained:

> If you're someone who is maybe over 30 walking around the campus, all those things like "education is not for me, I'm too old" spring (to mind), because everybody looks like they're sort of 19 and very loud and maybe quite threatening'

Whatever the place, 'the spaces in which social practices occur affect the nature of those practices, who is "in place", who is "out of place" and even who is allowed to be there at all' (McDowell and Sharp 1997, p3). A senior manager articulated some of her concerns about meeting the needs of very diverse groups of students on a large campus and added:

> We have got, as all organisations have who have got young men around, a very boisterous and noticeable group of young men, they always take up five times more space than young women do anyway, what impact does having them all together on one site have?

The ways in which spaces are gendered becomes apparent here. It was also not insignificant that all the security staff I saw in both colleges who were potentially barring access to the site were men.

There were also a number of complaints that the new technologised learning centres were often dominated by male students. A librarian described frequent 'confrontational situations' around who is using the computers and said 'we've had a few instances with people, mainly women actually, who in that situation will just say "Oh forget it, I'll come and do it another time"'. A group of lecturers who worked on social care courses with mainly adult women students confirmed that many of their students will not go near this learning centre. As small site-based libraries are reconstituted to become large 'learning centres', social relations, including gendered power relations, are re-articulated and new meanings are attached to these new places of learning.

Different levels of status and prestige were clearly allocated to different sites. One group of lecturers expressed the view that those, like themselves, who were not on the 'main' site, felt isolated and deprived of the best and most up-to-date resources. Whilst large main sites may have their problems, they are at least at 'the centre' with the associated status and prestige, rather than marginalised on the edges of the organisation. Lecturers in both colleges teaching students for whom English was not their first language thought that their students were disadvantaged in terms of sites and access to resources. In one college this included being moved to a more remote site which was due to be closed down, whilst in the other college the concern was to do with being moved from a smaller site with their own base rooms, to a large campus where they were the last group to be allocated rooms and so were 'squatting' all the time. These students were mainly refugees for whom 'home' and issues of displacement were particularly raw. Underpinning these concerns was an awareness of the educational market and the prominence of financial rather than educational priorities. It appeared that in some cases, those courses for which students (or employers) were paying the full cost (or more) of the course were housed in the best rooms and provided with the most up-to-date resources - resources which were not available for all students.

Yet is this concern with physical buildings and sites likely to be relevant for very long? Central to the Government's vision of the 'Learning Age' is that new technological developments will herald a range of new spaces and places of learning, including the home, workplace, library and shopping centres in addition to existing educational institutions (DfEE 1997). Each of these new spaces will also, however, be gendered, classed and raced in different ways: opening up new sites of learning does not, of itself, guarantee increased accessibility. Learning in the home, for example, is often a rather different experience for women and men given that women, across all social classes, still on average do most of the domestic chores and caring activities (Social Trends 1998).

A great deal of rhetoric is also evident in relation to the new virtual spaces of on-line learning. These spaces are still relatively under-developed in further education, although there is abundant faith in new technology as the saviour of all the problems that colleges face. Such technological futures are not, however, likely to be gender-free (Leathwood forthcoming), differential access to resources based on class and material wealth is likely to remain, and there are plenty of indications that virtual spaces are as gendered, raced, classed, and otherwise marked by difference and power relations as 'real-life' spaces and places (Balsamo 1997).

Spatial Relations

These new spaces of learning also construct and are in turn constructed by new spatial relations. The closure of many smaller sites was mourned by a number of lecturers. One explained 'we were on a wee site on our own, it was lovely, it was cosy, the building was falling down, it was leaking but it was lovely'. These words evoke what Davidoff (1976) called 'The Beau Ideal', referring to the concept of the 'home' as a warm, safe and friendly place . As Davidoff demonstrated, such an image disguised many less positive aspects, yet 'place' is important to people's sense of identity and belonging, and the words of this lecturer convey images not only of the place, but of the social relations within it. A number of members of staff spoke affectionately about these old, smaller sites where fewer people resulted in a more personalised environment. One lecturer said 'the relationship between … staff and the students was much more intimate'. Safety was also evoked by the friendly face of the school keeper on sites where security was not deemed to be an issue. A librarian explained the move from small sites to a large one:

> It's been quite a hard transition from … very small sites where we knew the students, we knew most of them by name, we knew quite a bit about them and it's you know now we can have anything up to 2000 students a day, sometimes more and a lot of them are very young, they don't know why they're here, they're just sort of roaming round the space and because it's such a big space it's very noisy and that sort of sets other students off complaining ... and I think because you haven't got those contacts with them … you're completely anonymous to them, they're anonymous to you ... if you're teaching ... you can build up some sort of relationship with people, you know something about them, whereas we don't have that and that's something that's been very hard.

Here proximity, closeness and connection provide not only a more meaningful and satisfying working environment, but also seem to be connected to a sense of being in control. The benefits of smaller sites were also articulated by a group of administrative staff who felt that on smaller sites where everyone knew everyone else they were better informed and so able to respond to enquiries much better than on the larger more anonymous campus.

What seems to be happening is that relations between students and lecturers, and between different groups of staff, are changing. Despite the reduction in sites, proximity and connection are being

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replaced by distance and separation. This is not only to do with the size of the site or campus. As course hours for students have been cut, they are spending less time in classrooms with their lecturers, and less with other students as individualised modes of learning take primacy. Elsewhere I have suggested that this 'individualised, independent learner' is a masculinist construction that does not reflect the needs of the majority of students in further education (Leathwood forthcoming). The intensification of lecturers' workloads means that they have less time and space for their students and relationships become more fleeting. This mirrors the less personalised relationships that have been noted in higher education between academics and students (Parker and Jary 1995). A senior lecturer explained that one consequence has been a change in selection procedures which now work against those students who are likely to need a greater level of contact and support.

The ways in which relations between groups of staff have changed to ones of increased distance were articulated in a number of ways, with reduced time for course team meetings, lack of staff common rooms and increased work loads making communication and collaboration more difficult. Both lecturers and librarians felt that the curriculum and students suffered as a result of the lack of collaboration now possible between library staff and course teams.

Distance is also marking the relations between senior managers in colleges and both lecturing staff and students. In this research, staff used the metaphors of 'Ivory Towers' and 'The Bunker' to refer to the spatial areas inhabited by the senior management teams. The 'Ivory Towers' was used in a college where senior management occupied one of the upper floors of a building, and could be seen to signify not only physical distance and separation, but also that management had their 'heads in the clouds' and were all white. In the other college, the senior managers were based on a ground floor protected by two security doors. Closed circuit television added to the defensive image of separation, distance and barriers. It is worth noting that the management in the 'Ivory Towers' were mainly men, and those in 'The Bunker' mainly women, highlighting the gendered elements of these spatial metaphors. Within the 'Ivory Towers', spaces were also gendered, with the all women administrative support staff located in an open plan area outside the (mostly male) senior managers' offices. The physical spaces and the meanings that are attached to them can be seen to structure, and be structured by, the social relations that inhabit these spaces and localities.

This increasing distance in relations of management and staff, staff and students, and between different groups of staff was perceived as a problem by teaching and support staff in these colleges. The distancing of senior management has implications not only for staff relations, but also for decisions that are taken about teaching and learning, with the majority of lecturers in this study feeling that management were too 'out of touch' to make appropriate decisions. Within this hierarchical classed division of labour, the greater the distance from the day-to-day contact with students, the greater the status, prestige, financial rewards and structural power. Distance and separation, or 'not getting one's hands dirty' has its own rewards, in contrast to the 'connected' work with students. Anecdotal evidence, both from this research and from colleagues suggests that students are also less than happy with what they see as insufficient contact with their teachers.

Distance, separation, connection and proximity are not gender-free concepts. Masculinities and femininities are constructed in opposition to each other in part through a distance/connection dichotomy. Chodorow's psychoanalytic perspective highlights the salience of separateness and distance from others in the construction of masculine gendered identities. In contrast, she argues that the achievement of feminine identities does not demand separation in the same way and is more likely to be marked instead by relatedness (Chodorow 1989). This is not intended to evoke a world of cosy feminine connection. As Val Hey (1997) notes in relation to girls' friendships, they are marked not only by intimacy and connection but also antagonism and disconnection. It is also not suggested that connection and proximity are always preferable. Yet feminine subjectivities are constructed in relation to others, in particular as carers and nurturers, in a way that masculinities are not. Collinson and Hearn suggest that the distancing of senior management is an aspect of managerialism that 'reflects and reinforces masculine modes of being' (Collinson and Hearn 1996, p88), whilst the transcendence and disembodiment promised in virtual relations are also framed as masculine. In these ways spatial distancing, physical, emotional and metaphorical, contributes to the continual reconstruction of gendered identities and power relations.

Conclusions

Spaces and spatial relations in further education are being re-configured in ways which, I suggest, are likely to be detrimental to some groups of students. Accessibility is clearly not only about the physical characteristics of the built environment and its location, although they are important, but also related to the meanings and social relations that are inscribed within these spaces and localities.

But who is making space, and for whom? Are these spaces and spatial relations acting to 'reinforce power, privileges and oppression and literally keep women in their place?' (McDowell and Sharp 1997, p3). Whilst women students are now in the majority in further education, the closure of smaller adult education sites in favour of larger campuses could be seen as a move from what were often 'women-friendly' environments to potentially hostile masculine-defined ones. The same could be said for the transformation of libraries into technologised learning centres. Individualised modes of learning, increased distance in spatial relations and the gendered and raced division of labour within colleges all serve to inscribe these learning environments as sites for the re-construction of gendered power relations.

In addition, the introduction of the educational market is hardly conducive to increased equalities, rather, the 'value' placed on different groups of students and different courses is likely to further exacerbate the differential allocation of resources and spaces for learning. The increasing distance between lecturers and students has particular implications for adults returning to education, and for all those students 'failed' by the school system. Many of those I interviewed in these colleges predicted a future of college mergers and further 'rationalisations' of the curriculum, with the danger that it will, in the words of one lecturer, 'make education even more remote and unaccountable to the local community', and, ironically in the context of the market, reduce choice for students.

Within the educational market, finance takes centre stage and educational concerns are marginalised. Yet sometimes being 'on the margins', away from the central locus of institutional power and control, can open up spaces for resistance, for doing things differently, and for defining one's own spaces and spatial relations. There were notes of optimism in this research, from senior managers aware of these issues and committed to changing the agendas where possible, to staff resisting, subverting and 'taking space' to get the best possible provision for their students. Spaces and places continue to be contested, and the distancing of spatial relations is challenged in this research by the commitment to a connected, caring, passionate and engaged pedagogy that bell hooks (1994) and others have articulated.

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Casual literacy and campaign zeal: environment and conflict

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In this, the UK National Year of Reading, there is much celebration of the pleasures of purposeful reading, particularly of books. It is the same year in which, again in the UK, a report on literacy and basic skills in adult life declared:

> All have a part to play in what must be a national and ongoing crusade..The work of our group was stimulated throughout by the feeling that *we were dealing with something big*, something that could help millions of fellow citizens, and that now called for a genuine devotion of national energy and resources (Moser 1999: 4)(my italics)(1).

Both these activities - a 'national year' and a commissioned report - entail committees, papers, conferences, recommendations and initiatives designed to improve a perceived problem. The language of campaigning zeal is apparent in both. Literacy is something which will help millions of citizens.

The work which literacy ethnographers have been undertaking for some years now has given us some tools to question the assumptions behind this zeal. The careful work of Mary Hamilton and David Barton in collecting and examining how people use and interact with reading and writing in the fabric of everyday life is especially significant. The fruit of several years of research originating with a survey of over sixty individuals in Lancaster, UK, theirs is a meticulous account. Two features of the book provide a salutary caution against literacy zealotry. First is their argument for revisiting interviewees. In the light of later interviews, the original conversation can, in retrospect, turn out to be 'superficial, if not misleading'; later meetings with the same person can enable them to 'open out about areas they hadn't talked of before... [And] get a sense of the range of our literacy interests' (Barton & Hamilton 1998: 65).

The second is the data they gather on how differently literacy features in the life of school than in the home. In school, reading and writing function as tasks and specialisms, the performance of which are to be evaluated and assessed. At home, by contrast, literacy

> is rarely separared from use; rather, learning and use are integrated in everyday activities, where literacy remains an implicit part of the activity (ibid. p.252).

The local literacies portrayed in their study add up to a casual business, part of other, often more pressing activities, one medium among others through which any one of us may seek to escape, inform ourselves, or relate to other people. A different matter altogether from a singular monolith for which a national 'crusade' is called for.

David Barton and Mary Hamilton are among a group of people who, in 1984, founded RaPAL - Research and Practice in Adult Literacy (2)- a national network of adult literacy teachers and researchers (of which I too am a founding member). A key purpose of RaPAL's is to democratise research: to continue to find ways in which those who are characterised as 'other' - in this case, as 'illiterate' - have the right to challenge the research agendas others construct about them. Among RaPAL's contributions to the Moser Committee's deliberations was a call for literacy learners to be subjects as well as objects of research.

In posing a questioning the language of campaigning zeal, then, I do not want to be read as denying the urgency of good funding for good adult education, but as arguing for more careful evaluation of research. Certainly, the case for better funding is still having to be made, in council chambers, academic boards, governors' meetings and the pages of tabloid papers. Twenty five years on from the 1974 'Right to Read' campaign in this country, adult basic education provision - as the report points out several times - is once again patchy and often demeaning or dispiriting. Literacy and numeracy education is still too often seen as a small, barely used country railway line: rather than the Grand Central Station it is, through which all learning journeys must pass. Opportunities to learn and develop through literacy and numeracy education should be mainstream and widespread. All this, as I see it, remains absolutely clear.

The danger is when the campaigners for literacy are shouting so loudly that they can no longer hear those for whom they claim to be campaigning; so that, when they discover some of these people might have less interest in this campaign than they do, there is almost a feeling of irritation, even of petulance, at their indifference:

> People with difficulties are often.... Unaware that they have a problem or that it matters. (3)
> Many people are unaware of their poor skills and many, if aware, don't regard it as a problem. (4)

As one of those who contributed to the policy and language of the earlier UK campaign in the 1970s, I may be over-sensitive to the dangers of evangelicism in the language of adult basic education policy and practice. About the change in thinking which research evidence in the 1980s opened up to me and others, I have written elsewhere (Mace 1992). More recently, I have spent research and writing time trying to imagine how life would be if literacy was assumed to be not a majority but a minority pursuit (Mace 1998). In that book I wanted to challenge another orthodoxy: that mothers must be the prime agents for raising the standards of children's literacy. Drawing on autobiographical and biographical memory, on social history, on poetry and on fiction, I sought to discover some of the meanings that literacy might have had for mothers themselves at a time, in Britain, when the literacy environment would have been different than today: different postal system, different pricing and availability of books and magazines, different franchise, different writing technologies and different cultural expectations of reading and education. All of these dimensions and many others add up to what we take for granted as the environment within which a group or an individual may exercise choices to read or write.

To see literacy not as 'huge' but as incidental, I suggest, is to help adult educators keep our voices down and pay attention to the environments and conflicts within which any group or individual can have room to express themselves. Two recent studies with which I have been engaged have helped me think some more about this. One was a ten-day visit to Gedaref, North Sudan, to work with others on the evaluation of a women's literacy and development programme there. The other has been a six-month research and community publishing project on literacy and everyday life with adult education students in the London Borough of Lewisham, UK.

Between these two countries the contrasts are easier to see than the communalities. Sudan is a huge country, the largest in Africa, bordered by nine others. It has been in a state of civil war for decades. Famine, drought and disease have been the consequences for generations. Migrants to the North live in conditions of abject poverty in settlements outside Khartoum, and further East, Gedaref. The adult literacy rate has been estimated at less than 30% of its population; in 1995 UNICEF estimated a mere 12% overall female literacy rate in the country. Britain, by contrast, is a small island, with twice the population. It is among those nations designated 'developed', with public services of health, education and welfare benefits for the poor. Poverty remains acute in both rural and inner city areas but the proportions are different. The adult literacy rate, twenty five years ago, was assumed to be 94%; more recently, applying different measures, it is shockingly assessed at 80%.

The literacy environment I glimpsed in Gedaref is sparse. The blizzard of junk mail which routinely covers doormats and pavements in urban Britain is absent. Posters and advertisements are rare. Wordy packaging is a luxury. Homes with books, let alone bookshelves, are for the minority. Most critical of all, in a country where whole populations have been forcibly uprooted or driven to seek a life in another country, the postal system is widely mistrusted and expensive. Yet the single most common purpose which women voiced for seeking literacy for themselves was so that they could write their own letters.

Dar es Salaam is a married woman in her 50s, the mother of eight children. My opportunity to speak with her had the limits indicated by Barton and Hamilton: it was a one-off interview. We sat, each of us on one of the iron beds in the cool of her thatched one-room home, and talked with the help of Safaa, the interpreter. Through participation in the literacy programme, she said, 'I have learned to express my feelings'. The most useful thing she felt she had learned was

> Reading and writing. Sometimes I have to send my son or daughter to the shop. Now I can write a list with beef, sugar, oil on it (Mace 1998a: 25).

In Lewisham, Annette is a learner in an adult basic education class, talking with her class tutor about what reading and writing meant to her, also mentioned the writing of a list:

> I always try to write my own shopping list but I always find it difficult to do. It's really hard to write a list, but if you do have one, it makes shopping easier. You don't have to remember everything in your head and you don't forget everything. There are many things I wish I could write but I can't: things like *pepper* and *salt* (5).

These comments struck echoes with the image one of the respondents offered me of her mother at their kitchen table in 1930s London,

> licking her pencil and writing... I think she must have been writing shopping lists or something; because we would all be sent on errands, as they used to say in those days, and she would write it down: 'Half a pound of marge; a pound of sugar' (Mace 1998: 51).

The act of writing a shopping list, at first sight, is misleadingly simple act of literacy. It is, after all, only a list of words. Spelling is the only technical problem; punctuation, grammar, style, expression - none of these come into it as they do any 'proper' writing. Yet apparently casual though it is, the list of what must be bought for family and home is also a creative struggle, evocative of hopes, fears, determination and despair. The ability to spell words like sugar, beef, or marge is incidental to the primary task: the creation of a list of things that need to be bought but can also realistically afforded.

Over twenty yeras ago I sat on a bus, accompanying a woman to a literacy class in South London. I will call her Shirley. This was a time when smoking was still allowed on the upper deck of London's two-decker buses. Shirley, at that time, was a student in our adult literacy scheme (only later did we learn to use the American term 'programme'). She was about to make the transition from meeting her individual literacy tutor weekly at home to joining a class. She was nervous. The bus we took that day happened to be a one-decker bus, so the sign in front of us was more necessary than it would have been on the two-decker kind, in which everyone would know you could only smoke upstairs.

As we sat down, Shirley turned to me, opened a pack of cigarettes in her bag, and said: 'Would you like a fag?' adding, with a half-smile: 'I can't read that sign which says NO SMOKING'.

Everything else about that incident has long since gone from memory. I don't remember any more what happened when we got to the classroom. I don't remember what Shirley was wearing, or what I replied to her question. What has stayed with me is the irony in her voice. She could read that sign. There were, certainly, other things she could read less easily. There was reading she wished she could do. That was why we were travelling together. But what we was playing, with me, was the part of the chosen illiterate, so that, had she been challenged with a cigarette in her mouth, she would have been prepared to say: 'What do you mean, I shouldn't be smoking? No, I can't read that sign. What sign?' And in that response would have been all the defiance of someone who 'did not know she had a problem': illiteracy as resistance.

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(1) Italics offer emphasis here. Had I used capitals, the effect on the reader might have been excessive - like someone bellowing in your ear. I suppose I had not thought consciously about this effect until quite recently, when I joined a mailbase on women's literacy, established by the Centre for the Study of Adult Literacy in Atlanta, Georgia. (nifl-womenlit@literacy.nifl.gov) Among nine 'netiquette tips' is this one:

> 'E-mail messages typed in all capitals are considered shouting, so please be considerate'.

(2) RaPAL's website can be accessed at http://www.literacy.lancs.ac.uk/rapal/htm

(3) Moser (1999): 10

(4) ibid: 21

(5) unpublished interview data, Lewisham Reading and Everyday Life Project, April 1999

Thinking there is new land: an allegory[1]

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Paper presented at SCUTREA, 29th Annual Conference, 5-7 July 1999, University of Warwick

The history of Pedagogy

The Island of Pedagogy is a mysterious place. Legends of its existence abound in cultures throughout the world, but its true location remains the subject of wild speculation. We will look today at the island as it appears in the mythology and history of Albion.

Pedagogy was first colonised thousands of years ago, by scholars from lands far from Albion. Its earliest inhabitants left documents, buildings and institutions behind them, some of which can still be seen today; others left only their presence in legend and folk memory. Some of these early pioneers were philosophers and mathematicians, who saw the creation of Pedagogic thought and ritual as an important task in the creation of new knowledge (Plato, 1953; Smith, 1974). Their students would continue their work in discovering, creating, explaining and interpreting the world around them, and the philosophers saw that Pedagogic experiences would enable them to do this.

After the first blooming of Pedagogic culture, times on the Island were hard. For centuries, Pedagogic culture was in the grip of religious settlers from Albion, who suppressed many of the Island's practices, and struggled among themselves over the nature of true religion, and who should rule the island. It was many years before the Island began to emerge from this tyranny and the depopulation and ignorance which it caused. But change did come. Thus the inhabitants of the Island of Pedagogy learned an early lesson: if you keep your head down for long enough, it will eventually be safe enough for you to come out.

The tribes of the Island at its peak

The Island experienced a renaissance from the 18th century onwards, as the old religion gradually loosened its grip on Albion. New prophets emerged, (e.g. Rousseau, 1781; Owen, 1817; Lovett, 1841) attracting followers and leaving sacred texts and edifices in the form of mills, schools etc. New colonies were founded over time, and these began to join together into tribal groupings. Thus, for example, the tribe of schoolteachers was formed from colonies of Rousseauites, Piagetians, Montessorians etc. This tribe - the Start-Rites[2] to us - worked on the assumption that education was a finite process which prepared children for adulthood. Despite this strange orthodoxy, their civilisation thrived until quite recently, and there was fruitful exchange and intermarriage between them and other Pedagogic tribes. For many years they were much respected by the population of Albion who not only left them alone, but sent regular remittances for the upkeep of the tribe, and gave its members full citizenship and employment rights on the mainland.

This strong relationship meant that, in time, and almost unwittingly, Pedagogy became a dependent territory of Albion. This probably accounted for the flourishing of the Island in the 20th century, but it also caused unrest among some of the Pedagogic tribes. Their misgivings were dismissed by many as prophesies of doom, or even heresies, but as we shall see, they may have had a point.

The tribe which interests us the most is the Kickers tribe, which gradually separated itself from the Start-Rite tribe over this period. Some Kickers saw education as a vehicle for major political change and were not prepared to wait for the work of the Start-Rites among children to take its 'trickle up' effect. They were often among those who saw aid from Albion as a threat to pure Pedagogic ideals. Disagreements among the Kickers meant that they tended to live in separate clans - for example, the WEA, the basic educators, the andragogues, the feminists, the local authority basket weavers and the community liberationists. The clans argued a lot among themselves, but the life of the tribe overall was fairly peaceful, and they felt a strong tribal loyalty. They built fetishistic paper mountains together, wrote and revered sacred texts, and held tribal gatherings full of ritual dances and folklore. Occasionally, prophets would visit from other lands (e.g. Gramsci, 1991; Freire, 1972; Mezirow,

1990; Foucault, 1977), and this led to the formation of new clans and the development of new rituals and beliefs.
Despite their inclusive creed, the Kickers felt themselves to be superior to the other tribes. They saw Kicker culture as the true Pedagogy, so they evangelised among their fellow Islanders whilst trying to remain uncontaminated by them. Thus they scorned the Start-Rites' ideas and preoccupations, but occupied their premises whenever the children were out. They established small enclaves in Universities, and then fought ideological, epistemological and administrative battles with the Clarks tribe who occupied those territories (so they were colonisers and imperialists too, in their own way). The Kickers were not that interested in Albion citizenship, wishing to maintain their cultural purity, but they remained largely dependent on the humanitarian aid provided by Albion. Some Kickers even managed to establish colonies in the feudal territory of FE, occupied by a horny-handed tribe known as the Caterpillars. Throughout, the Kickers maintained their separateness and superiority, branching out self-righteously into the community, and loudly chastising their hosts for their failure to practise the true (or Kicker) Pedagogic rituals.

These Kicker evangelists were often held in disdain by their hosts, but they worked hard, and so were tolerated. They had an infuriating capacity to attract new students with their bizarre missionary practices and eventually, as foretold in the sacred Kicker texts, adult students took over colleges and universities. The Kickers were less successful in transmitting their Pedagogic rituals and beliefs - their hosts often took on the trappings and postures of Pedagogy, but most did not undergo true conversion. In time, many members of the Caterpillars visited the Island of Pedagogy and established tribal villages. Constrained by their slave-like work conditions, they were usually only able to manage holiday homes on the Island, though they often promised themselves that one day they would emigrate there permanently. The Clarks tribe preferred to spend their holidays in Italy (Taylor, 1998).

The time of change

The Kickers' isolationism meant that, although they maintained their cultural purity, they did not always pay enough attention for their own good to events elsewhere. (This is a cautionary tale, like all good allegories.) For example, they were aware that a new cult (the Trainers) had established a small fortification on the Island. They dismissed them as a bunch of underqualified opportunists, with no understanding of the true traditions of Pedagogy. They tolerated the Trainers trampling over the Kickers' land, but tried as far as possible not to mix, and were always keen to distance themselves from the apostates in public. The Trainers' growing trading links with Albion were observed with much shaking of heads and prophesies of doom - the Kickers could see that the Trainers were trading a bastardised, simplistic (and amazingly cheap) version of true Pedagogic culture, but they remained vague about what could be done to stop them. Most followed the time-honoured tribal practice of waiting for unpleasant things to go away (see above). Some renegades, seeing the prospect of better aid (and indeed the Kickers' aid from Albion did seem to be drying up rapidly), intermarried with the Trainers. They produced children who spoke in a strange tongue, and traded NVQs with supermarkets and manufacturers; their Pedagogic roots were all but obliterated, and their own grandparents would barely have recognised them. They retained only superficial remnants of the old rituals, and rarely contributed to the sacred paper mountain, or appeared at the tribal gatherings.

Similarly, although some members of the Kickers travelled to other lands, their insularity often left them unable to make connections between developments abroad and those on the Island. Some Kickers went to the legendary land of Atlanta, and returned with tales of 'scientific' instructional techniques, evaluation toolkits and education participation scales (see, e.g., AERC, 1995). These tales were greeted with mirth and incomprehension at the Kickers' tribal gatherings, but were not felt to warrant serious discussion; like all tales of strange cultural practices abroad, they were seen as interesting, but of little consequence to the tribe itself. The fact that the Trainers had adopted some of these heathen practices and totems (e.g. Smith and Kolb, 1986) reassured the Kickers that they were quite incompatible with true Pedagogic tradition, and should be tolerantly ignored. Occasionally, fruitful trading and cultural exchange would occur (Miller and Armstrong, 1991) but this did not seem to help the Kickers, in the long run, to prevent the cultural rout which threatened them.

In the late 20th century, Albion fell into the hands of a new and aggressive cult. It went under many names – you may have heard it called 'naïve scientism', 'technocratic modernisation', 'economy, efficiency and effectiveness', 'quality assurance' or any number of other pseudonyms (Midgley, 1997; Young, 1998; Audit Commission, 1983; Morgan and Murgatroyd, 1994). We shall call it the Zanussi cult. You will remember that the old religion had been largely rejected, both by the inhabitants of Albion and by the Islanders on Pedagogy. Some Islanders even went so far as to reject *all* religions, including the secular ones which had attempted to supplant the old religion; they claimed that truth was, for a variety of terribly complicated reasons, no longer possible (e.g. Usher and Edwards, 1994). The Zanussi cult was cunning, and saw that little headway would be made with claims to religious truth or traditional missionary activities. So, with breathtaking audacity and evangelical vigour, the cult proclaimed itself a *science* rather than a religion! In no time at all it had converted the credulous Albion government and secured for itself the task of bringing all of Albion, and its dependent territories, into the fold of the Zanussi religion. Missionaries were dispatched to every tribe to spread the new gospel and obtain mass conversions as a condition of further Albion aid. What, you may ask, were the consequences of this for the Island of Pedagogy? We shall soon see, but first …

The Clarks tribe and the 'New Pedagogic' movement

The Clarks tribe lived in Albion, where they enjoyed a high status and exemption from many of the usual regulations about the behaviour and autonomy of citizens. They had a sacred book of sorts (Newman, 1891); very few Clarks members had read it, but it was useful as a supportive reference when their status and rights were occasionally challenged. Very few of them had visited or even heard of the Island of Pedagogy, although some of their rituals (and the sacred book) had originated there centuries earlier. Because they did not remember or recognise their Pedagogic heritage, they felt no need to find out more about it by travelling to their place of origin. Instead, the Clarks tribe divided itself into disciplinary clans, each with its own set of beliefs and rituals, and each enjoying varying degrees of tribal status (Becher, 1989). Although the clans were united by self-interest and common laws and institutions, they remained segregated for many years.

In the late 1960s a bunch of malcontent students came to visit Pedagogy, accompanied by some members of the Clarks tribe who had been intrigued by interesting ideas emerging from Europa. Some of the visitors, enchanted by what they had found, returned in later years to Pedagogy, and joined the Kickers tribe (Fieldhouse, 1993). The visit was soon over, but memories of the trip to Pedagogy began to influence what was happening in some of the Clarks clans. This was often encouraged by those Kickers who had established enclaves in the Clarks territories; their quiet influence and many secret liaisons resulted in conversions, and in offspring who bore the features of both parents. Over time, links were forged between the clans through 'interdisciplinary courses', and hybrid Clarks/Kicker practices and rituals emerged, in the form of 'part-time degrees' and 'access courses'.

But the Kickers were not the only marginal inhabitants of the Clarks territories. In some places, members of the Caterpillars and the Start-Rites, perhaps fleeing the ritualistic constraints and tribal divisions of Pedagogic life, perhaps lured by the benefits and status of the Clarks tribe in Albion, had built settlements and were passing, with some effort, as members of the Clarks tribe. They often found the lack of Pedagogic consciousness in Universities difficult to stomach, and tried to remind themselves of home by introducing Pedagogic ideas and rituals to their new clans. At other points on the periphery, the Trainers had established small communities and had begun trading services with the Clarks tribe. Over time, and almost invisibly, there developed a raggle-taggle 'New Pedagogic' movement within the Clarks tribe. As well as the Trainers and numerous converted psychologists, geographers and physicists, this movement contained émigré Start-Rites and Caterpillars, plus the occasional disoriented Kicker. In many of the latter cases, Pedagogic roots had been all but forgotten, as the ex-Islanders had become assimilated into the Clarks culture, although their traces could be found in some of the 'new' texts and rituals which the movement produced (e.g. Marton, Hounsell and Entwistle, 1997). But the folk memory remained of a magical place that was all their own. When, to general alarm, the Zanussi missionaries arrived in the Clarks territories, some of these ex-Islanders began to wonder if that mythical ancestral place – the Island of Pedagogy – could hold the clue to their future. Only later did they discover that the Zanussi cult had *already had the same idea.*

The Trainers, encouraged by the triumphal progress of their allies in Atlanta, welcomed the Zanussi missionaries into the universities. *Their* tribal memories of paper mountains and sacred texts were long forgotten; their Pedagogic ancestry meant little more to them than Viking ancestry might mean to some of us. But they had wanted for some time to give their 'New Pedagogic' movement the status of a clan within the Clarks tribe, and there was little hope of this with no disciplinary basis to speak of, and no sacred texts. They knew that if they could claim a homeland and produce some esoteric ancestral scriptures, they could gain a foothold within the academy, as other movements had done in the past (e.g. Minnich et al, 1988). Ultimately this would enable them to take their rightful place within the Clarks territory, rather than the miserable frontier camps which they now inhabited. Spurred on by the demands of the Albion government to spread the Zanussi gospel, and fearing that someone else would get the contract, the New Pedagogues set off on a voyage of discovery (SEDA, 1999).

The fate of the Island

Alas, when the New Pedagogues' expedition arrived, they found that the Zanussi cult had got there first. The once-thriving Island was depopulated and demoralised. The Start-Rites, who had once reigned supreme, had been reduced to a small number of resistance fighters occupying a rocky outcrop, and foraging for food. They gathered daily to discourse upon the sacred texts of the Philosophy, Psychology and Sociology of Education, but they were dispirited because there was no-one to hear them. Most of the tribe had emigrated to Albion following the forced National Curriculum conversions of the late 1980s (one of the early Zanussi missions), and although there were few real Zanussi converts among them, their Pedagogic culture was withering as they languished in overworked exile. Occasionally the resistance fighters on the Island would mount a half-hearted attack on Albion, but these tended to result in moral rather than actual victories.

The Caterpillar tribe had also suffered. A different conversion had been forced on them – during the infamous Competence Wars – but the consequences had been equally sad. Due to cunning trade-for-aid agreements, even the few grizzled stalwarts who remained felt obliged to remould their Pedagogic rituals. Ancient texts and practices were rewritten within a Zanussi-compliant competence framework, with checklists and portfolios. The Caterpillars often felt miserable when they looked at these new texts and could not fathom their meaning or purpose, but gradually they became accustomed to them, to the extent that they began to forget that things had ever been different.

The Kicker tribe had been ruthlessly dispersed. Many had been deported to FE colleges and suffered the same fate as their Caterpillar colleagues. Others had been forcibly resettled in a variety of organisations run by the Trainers, with consequences which can only be imagined. Others again had sought asylum in the Clarks territories, only to be swept up in the chaos and bitter internecine struggles which followed the fall of the Binary Wall in 1992. A dwindling number of Kickers still occupied an encampment on the Island, where they welcomed their émigré sisters and brothers at ritual gatherings and meetings. Small groups of transient Kickers roamed the old tribal territories, enacting ancient dances and exchanging sacred texts and folklore, but none seemed able to stay for long, despite the new Lifelong Learning dispensation. They in their turn were discovering that, for those scraping a living under the Zanussi regime in Albion, holidays in Pedagogy were the best they could expect.

So, when the 'New Pedagogic' expedition from the Clarks territories arrived, what did it find? Stones with incomprehensible runic inscriptions littered the undergrowth. Tatty paper mountains towered incongruously over abandoned villages, their significance lost. Small groups of nervous tribespeople eyed them warily, chattering to each other in secret Island tongues. Crumbling buildings, and the defaced statues of long-forgotten honoured chieftains, were the only remnants of the flourishing civilisation on Pedagogy.

But the New Pedagogues were delighted. This place had *such* potential. 'This is our new found land!' they cried. The Clarks archaeologists scraped through the ruins, the Clarks linguists pored over the primitive texts. All agreed, after careful brainstorming, that nothing more could be deduced about the Island's culture and civilisation than about that of Easter Island. It was obviously the perfect place to establish their new homeland and thus create a new disciplinary clan. The runic inscriptions could be dusted down and crude translations provided, to prove the discipline's antiquity and pedigree. The inhabitants seemed docile enough, although they did keep waving their arms about and babbling in their obscure language, as if trying to tell their new colonisers something important. They would soon become civilised, with the aid of the Zanussi doctrinal manuals which the colonisers had brought with them (Institute for Learning and Teaching, 1999).

The New Pedagogues settled in quickly, and set the sparse Island population to the task of learning the Zanussi language and compiling neat portfolios. The Islanders wondered privately if their ancient custom of keeping their heads down would really help them this time. Before long it occurred to the New Pedagogues that their beautiful new land needed a name. They convened a ceremonial clan gathering, split into small groups and distributed the sacred artefacts (marker pens, flipchart paper and Blu-Tack). Their joy was unbounded when, at the plenary, unanimous agreement emerged. They called it – the Island of Pedagogy.

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[1] with apologies to Francis Bacon (The Advancement of Learning, 1605)

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[2] Some explanation is called for here. One consequence of the Island's secular renaissance was that most inhabitants of Pedagogy lost whatever grasp of Greek and Latin they may have once had. Thus, through etymological confusion about the meaning of 'pedagogy', they named their tribes after various types of footwear.

Sustaining critical communities: stretching the academy

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Introduction

This conference is about exploring spaces for adult education and adult learning - and, presumably, making the most of them. In this paper, we want to explore the particular institutional and conceptual space we occupy as university teachers of adult and community education. We do so for two reasons: first, because we feel that, in some ways, this space is being rapidly closed down - or, at any rate, actively reconstructed and increasingly regulated; second, because, whatever the problems and pressures we encounter in our work, there is a danger of not making the most of the space we still have. In, this respect, we would argue that, despite all the constraints, those of us who work in university departments of adult education probably retain more relative autonomy than most of our academic colleagues and certainly more than most of our professional colleagues in practice. In addition, adult education conceived as a creative and, indeed, dialectical space (see Steele, 1997) where the disciplines meet, compete and collide (rather than a discipline in its own right or even a single and coherent field of practice) is inherently difficult to manage and control - which is, of course, what attracts some of us to it!

Context and purpose

One advantage of teaching on courses, such as our own, which are simultaneously academic and vocational is the legitimacy this confers on our role in developing both intellectual understanding and professional competence - thus avoiding the closures implicit in either over-theorisation or narrowly conceived notions of professional competence:

> The logic of the professional role .... is to support people in identifying and challenging the root causes of their poverty and social exclusion. It is not only legitimate to engage with groups struggling to improve their conditions but it is also an essential aspect of any educational practice committed to social justice. (Rosendale, 1996)

In defining our own position as educators, we identify ourselves with what is broadly understood as the 'radical tradition' in the history of British adult education. We would not wish, however, to be too purist or exclusive about what this means because some versions of it have been over-determined, to say the least, by particular theoretical and ideological presuppositions (for example, see Westwood, 1991; Thompson, 1997). Our own concern would be to ensure that a range of contemporary radicalisms contribute to the reconstruction of this tradition today - which we regard as an important and urgent task.

A good general characterisation of the position from which this argument proceeds is provided by Keith Jackson (1995). He describes what he calls the 'adult education of engagement' in the following terms:

> the view that adults bring something which derives both from their experience of adult life and from their status as citizens to the educational process; that adult education is based on a dialogue rather than a mere transmission of knowledge and skill; that education is not only for personal development and advancement but also for social advancement; that adult education constructs knowledge and does not merely pass it on; that adult education has a dialectical and organic relationship with social movements.

It is worth making a number of points about this. Such students come to the educational encounter as, in Freire's terms, 'knowing subjects' who, as citizens, have a particular, equal and indivisible political status. The curriculum is constructed, partly at least, from the intellectual and personal resources as well as the social and political interests they bring with them. They are social actors - not empty vessels, deficit systems, bundles of need or, indeed, primarily producers or consumers. Moreover, their educational interests and aspirations are shared and collective. This is the starting point because it is what they have in common as citizens (although more individual and idiosyncratic patterns of personal development may well follow). Learning is essentially *about making knowledge which makes sense of their world* and helps them act upon it in order change it for the better. In this sense, 'really useful knowledge' (see Johnson, 1979) is not so much about what kind of knowledge counts as about who decides what kind of knowledge counts - and why, and what they want to do with it:

> Really useful knowledge .... encompassed all that was required to 'enlighten' learners, ie for them to understand the world in terms of their own experience of it and to recognise their potential power to act effectively and collectively to change it. In this sense, it epitomised a truly emancipatory form of 'counter-education' and was the antithesis of 'provided education'. (Martin, 1994)

As such, groups of students in this kind of adult education may be properly said to constitute 'epistemological communities' (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991). Finally, and perhaps most importantly, adult learning grows *in and out* of such communities, or social movements, as they exist in the 'real world', struggling and striving outside the walls of the classroom and the gates of the academy. Adult education's relationship to these movements is a symbiotic one. This insight, crucial to the radical tradition, has never been better expressed than it was in the Ministry of Reconstruction's 1919 report on adult education:

> The growth of movements which have as their aim the creation of a better social order is not less important than the process of education itself. In some ways, it is more important, for such movements to create the background of aspiration and endeavour which is the foundation of more directly educational work, and suggest the questions for which men and women seek in study to find an answer. (Ministry of Reconstruction, 1919)

The argument seems to us to be all the more worth making at present because we now find ourselves somewhat ambivalently positioned in the process of merger with another institution which has a very different culture and tradition of higher education from that of our own. We are not, of course, alone in this. In several parts of the UK - and elsewhere, no doubt - there has recently been a spate of (more or less) shotgun weddings between different kinds of institution. These seem to have either a somewhat over-developed or, alternatively, a radically under-developed sense of their role as agents of vocational preparation and professional development. In such hasty and expedient couplings, departments of adult and community education have gone both ways - but, in the end, they all face the same kind of problems and, we would argue, possibilities.

We also want to write about this because the apparently inexorable logic of the current politics of publication and research is to draw us away from the messy business of social and political engagement towards, in the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) terms, the more fertile and fashionable pastures of technical and intellectual disengagement: in number crunching surveys of 'participation' and 'access' (when surely the prior question is, in what, to what and on whose terms?), increasingly bland and sanitised packages of continuing education and professional development (when surely the prior question is, for whom and in whose interests?), earnest assertions of the importance of social capital in building the learning society (when surely the prior question is, what destroys norms and networks of trust and mutuality in communities?), or the ludic irony of certain kinds of postmodern 'theorising' which seem so privileged, effete or simply out of touch with most people's social reality, postmodern or otherwise (when surely the prior question is, what does all this really amount to, why bother?).

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Our concern to reassert another way of thinking about - and doing - teaching, writing and research has been sharpened by a small-scale local research project we have been conducting over the last two and half years (see Martin and Shaw 1997a; 1997b). The focus of interest in this work has been on how adult and community educators sustain their motivation for and commitment to social purpose education in a rapidly changing, and sometimes hostile, policy/political environment. This has helped us to identify more clearly various constituencies of educational policy and practice with which we would seek to collaborate (for example, academic and professional colleagues, local activists and some of our own students). It has also encouraged us to see how the role of university adult education can be stretched, in both ideological and practical terms, to support these particular interests conceived as critical - and critically engaged - communities (see Martin, 1999).

It is important to point specifically to the significance for our work of the current political and cultural context in Scotland. The prospect and the process of 'democratic renewal' poses particular possibilities - as well as problems - for educators, especially those who are interested in linking the political discourse of active citizenship with the educational discourse of lifelong learning and the learning society . We recognise the danger of 'talking this up' too much, but we believe that we must see the present conjuncture as a unique opportunity to reconnect our curriculum with the lived experience of people in Scottish communities (see Crowther, Martin and Shaw, 1999). In Scotland today we have to find ways of showing how the learning society must learn to be a more democratic and genuinely inclusive society. One way of doing this is determinedly to counter the narrowly economistic discourses of citizenship which have come to dominate adult education theory, policy and practice in recent years (that is, adult learner as either worker/producer or adult learner as customer/consumer) and to complement these with the older and richer discourse of adult learner as social actor and political agent.

Theory and practice: re-making the argument

> This is, in essence, a marriage of two strong partners. The strengths and range of disciplines at the University, as one of Europe's leading centres of excellence in teaching and research, will complement the professional educational expertise of Moray House [Institute of Education]. (Professor Sir Stewart Sutherland, Principal of Edinburgh University, formally announcing its merger with Moray House Institute of Education in August, 1998)

One of the things the process of institutional merger is making us rethink is the relationship in our work - and, more specifically, in our teaching - between theoretical/critical understanding and practical/professional competence. This is partly because we work in a relatively small institute of education, one that has traditionally defined its priorities primarily in terms of 'professional educational expertise'. It has recently become part of a much bigger and more prestigious institution which has traditionally defined *its* priorities uncompromisingly in terms of academic 'excellence in teaching and research'.

In describing our position on the relationship between theory and practice, we take as our starting point the contention of Michael Collins in *Adult Education as Vocation: A Critical Role for the Adult Educator* (1991) that the distinction and the connections between theory and practice are, essentially, resolved in our heads:

> Though an understanding of theoretical constructions is important to any serious vocational endeavour, it is more efficacious to think in terms of engaging thoughtfully with theory and then, putting ourselves into practice rather than putting theory into practice. In other words, serious engagement with theoretical models improves our potential as reflective practitioners, which in turn manifests itself in actual performance. (Collins, 1991)

Educational practice is as much about values and purposes as it is about knowledge and expertise. And it is this *essentially ethical and ontological sense of what we are about in the world* that justifies the notion of adult education as a vocation in the proper, expansive and purposeful meaning of the term. Striking the right balance is, of course, a difficult task and a constant struggle - which is mirrored in the current restructuring of higher education. On the one hand, the whole emphasis of the new managerialism on throughput and output, performance measurement and competence encourages instrumental rationality and a narrowly conceived understanding of professional development. This can lead to a debilitating anti-intellectualism and a radically impoverished notion of vocation (for example, see Shaw and Crowther, 1995; Alexander and Martin, 1995). On the other hand, the restratification of higher education as, in effect, a market and the commodification of knowledge and research which is a consequence of this seem to suggest that (unless it can be sold) real knowledge should have as little to do with the real world as possible. For instance, in our own field, publication in a relatively esoteric - and therefore unread - academic journal counts for much more than writing for a professional publication which is regularly read by thousands of practitioners.

Our own view is that 'there is nothing as practical as good theory'. But the relationship between theory and practice is a dialectical one: theory posing problems for practice, practice providing the experience to interrogate theoretical analysis. Vocation, used in the proper sense of finding a way to live in the world, requires both theory and practice in dynamic interaction: *praxis*. It is this problematic that should be at the heart of our curriculum, driving it and resourcing it. This is the only way of avoiding the twin dangers of, in Rennie Johnston's words, 'actionless thought' and 'thoughtless action' (Johnston, 1992). And it is precisely this dialectical space - which, we would argue, *should actually constitute the curriculum* of the academy - that we must occupy and exploit in our work .

Stretching the academy

In the final part of the paper, we want to consider the implications of this argument for three particular aspects of the institutional and ideological space in which we work: first, our role *as teachers* in the task of constructing the curriculum and 'liberating knowledge' in our teaching; second, our role *as writers and researchers* in the task of relating our work to broader social and political purposes; third, our role *as catalysts* in the task of activating collective engagement in creative alliances and collaborations. Here, however, we must enter a caveat: stretching our work in this way has never been easy; on the contrary, it is a constant struggle. But the more we are driven by the pressures and constraints of an unsympathetic and sometimes antagonistic environment, the more important and necessary that struggle is - even when it fails.

In thinking about this process, it is useful to recall Martin Loney's explication of the idea of the 'unfinished message'. Towards the end of what is still one the best accounts of the British Community Development Project - a rich and messy engagement with the dialectics of theory, policy and practice if ever there was one - Loney (1983) refers to the work of the Norwegian criminologist, Mathiesen. He argues the need to develop carefully and systematically in our work 'competing contradictions' to existing social policies and institutions (rather than indulge in grand, rhetorical critique). The radical message should be left 'unfinished' in order to 'ensure against [its] exclusion .... from mainstream debate' because the 'objective must to be to create not a new finite social order but rather an open and experimenting society'. In our view, radical adult education has a vital and distinctive part to play in helping to create such a society. And yet, its message has often been too 'finished' to contribute constructively and creatively to the wider debate about what kind of society this should be. In a sense, this is precisely the problem and the possibility of the present conjuncture in Scotland, that is, for a radical redefinition of what we mean by lifelong learning and the learning society and a reconnection of these ideas to the ideals of democratic renewal and active citizenship.

What this means is that we have to look for, and make the most of, the spaces in our work which still give us a degree of relative autonomy. It is important to add, however, that finding these spaces is, in our experience, more a matter of keeping what we do informed by a general and inclusive commitment to equity and social purpose than a studied adherence any clear or preconceived strategy. In reviewing our work in these terms, the following examples suggest some of the spaces which seem to provide opportunities for stretching the academy.

As teachers: constructing the curriculum

* *Re-theorising Community* is a third/final year course in a BA degree in Community Education. Students are required to consider the hypothesis, developed in the curriculum, that 'community' may be understood as 'an intermediate level of social reality at which the dialectics of agency and structure are confronted in people's lived experience', and to test this out in the optional courses they choose to take in adult education, community work or youth work. This must be done in relation to the opportunities and constraints presented by the current policy context. 'Meso-level' theory demands a critical assessment of both modern and postmodern perspectives on contemporary social reality (see Alheit, 1999).

* *Inclusive Education* is a second year undergraduate course which challenges the hegemony of 'special educational needs' by building the curriculum around the interests and experience of disabled people themselves. The social movement of disabled people thus becomes the dynamic of the curriculum and a key resource for the professional development of the student - rather the object of professional intervention.

* *Student fieldwork placements* are understood to be the site of engagement between theory and practice, ie where theory can be tested against the realities of daily life in communities. The theory-practice dialectic is activated by the student who must assess his/her own degree of agency within the constraints of structure.

* *Collaborative teaching and synoptic assessment* are the means by which teaching staff aim to work together as members of a common critical culture. Teaching is therefore collectively 'owned' (although courses are individually taught according to specialism), and linked courses are assessed in one synoptic piece of work so as to ensure the student's simultaneous engagement with theory, policy and practice.

As writers and researchers: contesting conventional wisdom

* *Concept* is the title of the Journal of Contemporary Community Education Practice Theory which is now in its ninth year of publication (see Crowther, Martin and Shaw, 1997). Its aim is to develop a critical culture in community-based education in Scotland by encouraging workers to theorise their practice, to recognise the vital importance of the debate about ideas, values and purposes, and to challenge all the orthodoxies of conventional wisdom (both academic and professional). The policy of the journal, which is the product of collaboration between higher education and the field of practice, is to give a platform to a wide range of 'voices' committed to progressive social change, and the editorial group offers direct assistance to 'new' writers. Each of the three issues published a year contains at least one article with an international perspective. A special issue on citizenship is now in press as the election of the Scottish Parliament approaches, and a collection of readings on working with young people is in the final stages of preparation. *Concept* also contains an occasional column 'Research Matters' which demonstrates how research can support communities in struggle.

* *Liberating Knowledge* is the proposed title of an internationally refereed journal of 'radical educational philosophy' which we are at present establishing with colleagues at Glasgow University. The aim of the journal is to 'offer a critical and creative space for the development of radical ideas on educational policy and practice which are not tied to particular disciplines or discourses'. 'Radical' in this context implies both actively contesting what counts as worthwhile knowledge and liberating, through educational work, alternative and subversive ways of knowing.

* *Popular Education and Social Movements in Scotland Today* is a book we have recently published (see Crowther, Martin and Shaw, 1999). This seeks to show how popular education can catalyse the relationship between active citizenship and democratic renewal in the contemporary Scottish context. The book poses the question: 'Can Scotland today present the threat of a good example?'.

* *Radical Community Work: Perspectives from Practice in Scotland* is the title of a book which seeks to re-establish an agenda for radical community work in Scotland (see Cooke and Shaw, 1996). It is now widely used on training courses throughout the UK. In particular, it shows how workers can engage dialectically with the current policy context.

* *Radicalising research* is the aim of research concerned actively to support struggles for social justice, equality of opportunity and inclusive citizenship. Reference has already been made to a recently completed research project on 'Sustaining social purpose in the current policy context' (see Martin and Shaw, 1997a; 1997b). We are also involved with another university department as partners of a local disability-led organisation concerned with access to education in a major bid for

Lottery funding for a research project called 'Experiencing inclusive education: What does it mean?'. This research will be controlled and directed by disabled people, with the university departments involved offering expertise and resources to advance their struggle for equality.

As catalysts: taking sides and building alliances

* *The Popular Education Forum for Scotland* brings together workers and activists who have a common interest in developing an 'overtly political' educational practice which is 'rooted in the real interests and struggles of ordinary people' (see Crowther and Martin, 1997). An international *Popular Education Network* is now being formed in a joint initiative of adult educators based at universities in the UK and Spain. Its aim is to develop collaborative research and social action programmes among university-based adult educators in different parts of the world (see Martin, Crowther, Galloway, Johnston and Merrill, 1999).

* *Concept seminars* are organised on a regular basis for workers in Scotland. The emphasis is on critical policy analysis with a view to identifying opportunities for radical practice in adult education, community work and youth work. *Concept* seminars have been addressed by many major national figures including Keith Jackson, Jane Thompson, Bob Fryer and Hilary Wainwright.

* *The Edinburgh Biennial Adult Education Conference* is the only regular conference series in Scotland which seeks to 'create space for the "democratic intellect"' by feeding university research and policy analysis directly into the field of Scottish adult and community education practice (see Martin, 1996). Conferences to date have covered the following themes: 'The Education of Adults in Scotland: Democracy and Curriculum' (1992); 'Scotland as a Learning Society: Issues of Culture and Identity' (1995); 'Popular Education and Social Movements in Scotland Today' (1997); 'Adult Education for Democratic Renewal in Scotland' (1999).

Conclusion: sustaining critical communities

Our argument is that, in order to play its part in sustaining critical communities, the academy can and must be stretched - discursively and politically. This ideological stretching has both internal and external dimensions: developing the curriculum and culture within the institution and reaching out from it critically and creatively to an increasingly beleaguered field of practice and the communities in which it works. As committed academics, we still retain a relatively high degree of autonomy. Let's use it while we have it!

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An exploration of the experience of women in non-traditional adult education spaces

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Introduction

This paper, which draws on ethnographic explorations of non-traditional spaces for adult education, will explore the experiences of women students in a non-adult education space, in this instance a Glasgow Catholic secondary school, in order to gain a better understanding both of women's experience of such a space as well as the seemingly unchanging pattern of both social class disadvantage and the unequal participation in higher education and the relatively low male representation in all areas of non-vocational adult education. This initial exploration tends to negate the claim that women in the 1990s were still experiencing constraints in adult education through a lack of childcare facilities (McGivney, 1994) although the structures of the non-traditional adult education space remained firmly in the control of men and tended to serve up the interests of the middle-class as opposed to the working-class as it provided an alternative route into higher education for non-traditional students but with traditional rather than non-traditional qualifications.

Methodology

The methodology is that of a longitudinal retrospective ethnography covering a decade from the late 1980s to the late 1990s and using participant observation, informal discussion and formal semi-structured interviews as well as published material. The underlying methodology is largely based in critical autobiographical recollection of the researcher, a sound epistemological base if treated critically (Griffiths, 1995). It is still unusual for researchers to be explicit about autobiographical dimensions, although feminist writing and writers such as Malcolm Tight (1998) have tended to challenge this silence. There are undeniably 'problems in writing the researcher's self into the text and this is partly because it begs questions about the basis on which the self is to be understood and narrated' (West 1996: 17) but objectivist, detached methods can alienate, disempower and silence people and impoverish their narratives and their potential contribution to understanding them. (Oakley, 1981)

Adult education spaces

The defining report of its day on Scottish Adult Education, the Alexander Report, claims that adult education courses are 'voluntary leisure-time courses for adults which are educational but not specifically vocational.' (SED 1975: para 1) According to such a definition, the traditional adult education space would be the extra-mural classes offered by a Department of Adult and/or Continuing Education in an institution of higher education, similar to classes offered by a further education college or by community education which could take place in schools or any other building. Adult education was thus based on the often generalised assumption that *all* adults learn differently from *all* young people *all* of the time. Later, Knowles (1998), a seminal writer on adult education, moved from this very perspective to admitting that adults might well learn in the same manner as young people at least on some occasions. This change in perspective was in no small way the consequence of developments in the educational field since the late 1970s. Higher education can be said to have claimed adults for reasons of social justice and also to compensate for a demographic decline in the traditional clientele. In a like manner, various secondary schools in Scotland set out to attract adults for the same reasons. Adult students, by their numbers and the concomitant funding, could make a substantial difference to a school just as they could to a higher education institution. In both cases, educational spaces which had been the traditional preserve of adolescents and young adults (as school leavers) opened their doors to older people and, more than this, deliberately targeted these people as potential students, creating new offerings and even modifying existing provision to attract them. This modification went in a number of school cases as far as the creation of free creche facilities, thereby further blurring age and role boundaries. This meant that secondary schools such as St Gerard's in Glasgow, which is the focus of this paper, saw not only adults crossing its threshold in the role of learners but also as parents of small children, thus becoming not only a non-traditional adult education space but also a non-traditional pre-school space. The presence of small children in secondary schools is of course worthy of consideration as to the effects this has on adolescent learners but space precludes my examining this further in this instance.

The opening of the doors to adults by schools and higher education institutions has led to a change in definition as to what constitutes adult education. The general assumption that all adults learn differently from non-adults/traditional higher education cohort and have different needs as learners led to the recognition in 1978 of Access courses to prepare mature students for entry into higher education (Brennan, 1989). Compensatory education opportunity for adults such as the Fresh Horizons course at City Literary College in London started in 1966 and illustrated a demand for second chance provision especially from women (Benn, 1996). While the Access movement offers a 'non-traditional pathway to a traditional provision, a student-centred preparation for a subject-centred experience' (Parry 1986: 49), opening the doors of secondary schools to adults offers an educational experience based on the assumption that adults and adolescents can and do learn in rather similar ways, in other words a traditional pathway to non-traditional students in a non-adult education space towards the subject-based experience that is higher education.

While it is not my purpose to systematically argue the advantages and disadvantages of either model, the assumption that school pupils/leavers and mature students/adults require radically different kinds of education and can only study alongside each other at some sacrifice to the real needs of one or both groups (Duke, 1987) is challenged in this paper which is based on a learning experience of adults alongside school pupils. Although the Access course has now become a traditional learning space for adults, it is indisputable that the secondary school is still perceived as a non-traditional adult education/learning space. However, as we shall see this non-traditional adult education/learning space mirrors that which is normally categorised as 'traditional' adult education, be it liberal adult education or Access courses. Just as the 1975 Alexander Report noted that adult education in Scotland attracted 'the older, the better-educated and the more affluent' and that more than two-thirds were women (SED 1975:15), Access Courses and the expansion of higher education in general in the 1980s and 1990s saw significant improvements in relative participation rates for women, most minority ethnic groups, and especially women mature students of middle class origin (Matheson, 1999).

In 1953 just over 1% of girls reached university. In 1987-1988 women accounted for 45% of full-time students in higher education at degree level and for 50% in the mid-1990s. Between 1980 and 1987 the number of women students in higher education increased by 20% while the number of male students by only 4%. (A significant number of these women were adult students). The increase was particularly marked in public sector higher education and on part-time courses (Wilson 1991:45).

Such an overwhelming representation of women can also be seen in secondary schools such as St Gerard's Secondary School in Glasgow and a community school in inner city Edinburgh. As the headteacher of the latter declared in 1990, 'Every region in Scotland now has schools which admit adults to day-time classes and in Lothian and Strathclyde the numbers run into thousands. Of these, the vast majority are women' (MacIntosh 1990: 54) Whereas St Gerard's sought to attract adults, it was overwhelmingly women over 25 who came, much to the surprise of the school management team and of the staff in general. Nevertheless, adults returning to school to gain higher education entry qualifications (nor Access courses for that matter) have 'yet to make a major impact upon the social make-up or the assumptions of higher education. (Tight 1996: 132)

Other (Non-)traditional adult education spaces

Weil (1986, 1988), Edwards (1990 and 1993), Pascall and Cox (1993), and Lunneborg (1994) have undertaken in-depth qualitative studies of the experience of mature women students in non-traditional/traditional adult education spaces in Access courses) and/or in higher education while West (1996) and Lea (1996) have studied both the experiences of women and men in these spaces. Only MacIntosh (1990) has looked at the experience of mature women in a non-traditional adult education space such as a secondary school but her study took place in a secondary school that was also a inner city community school in Edinburgh. Many of the women in St Gerard's showed remarkable similarities in their autobiographical narratives to those described in these accounts of non-traditional adult education spaces.

Most of the research on the experience of mature (women) students has been Anglocentric, except two research reports by the Scottish Council for Research in Education (SCRE) on the *Effectiveness of Access Courses* (Munn et al 1994) and on *Scottish Access Students in Higher Education* (Powney and Hall 1998). Apart from MacIntosh (1990) there have been no in-depth biographical studies of mature women students' experience.

If many studies of Scottish society, history and culture have been gender blind, largely because of the high level of misogynism in the Scottish culture, it is only recently that this is beginning to be remedied through the development of feminist analysis (Breitenbach *et al* 1998). Thus studies focusing on the experience of women in Scotland are studies of twice marginalised individuals within British society and thrice marginalised when some of these individuals are members of ethnic minorities. The fact that the narrator is herself the product of a twice culturally dominated Francophone culture, by France outwith Switzerland and by the German-speaking majority within Switzerland makes it all the more possible for this paper to be a view from the margins.

The experiences of women in a non-traditional adult education space

St Gerard's Secondary School was opened in 1937 as the second Catholic co-educational secondary school in the city of Glasgow. It had a red sandstone building in good repair, a swimming pool, football and hockey pitches, along with the extensive gymnasia and theatre used by pupils during the day and by various community groups at night and also at weekends. Since opening its doors to adults and especially since the opening of the free crèche in 1987 and until its closure, St Gerard's served the whole community though it never was accorded the official status of community school. (Unlike in Lothian which counted several community schools, Strathclyde Regional Council policy never favoured such initiatives.) The school was situated in Govan, the most Westerly reach of the Glasgow underground, once a thriving centre for the shipbuilding industry but now an area of multiple deprivation which has been extensively redeveloped and depopulated since the late 1970s. It was arguably in part as a consequence of this redevelopment that St Gerard's opened its doors to adult learners. Other factors which we might take into account are the demographic decline of the late 1980s and the Parents' Charter whereby there was a steady haemorrhage of pupils to other schools within easy travelling distance. St Gerard's finally closed its doors in October 1998 after having faced and overcome previous threats of closure since the 1980s.

After an initial experience of adult education in the form of extra-mural classes at Glasgow University, I was attracted to St Gerard's by its offering, which I saw in the local library, of the only crèche facility for adult learners in the South West of Glasgow. As my Swiss qualifications were deemed too old for me to enter university as a 'home student' (although I was offered immediate matriculation by one university provided I paid the overseas fees!), I needed to acquire up-to-date qualifications. Having at the time one child at school and two pre-school children, I did not immediately set out to find out more. Like many adults returning to formal education I only made the decisive move at a time of change and transition in my life, spectacular in-laws problems four months after having seen the poster, followed by neighbours-from-hell problems four months after having started attending the school. Courtney (1992) and West (1996) suggest that adult participation in education is concerned with the management of various kinds of change and crisis situations, including at work, in relationships, in illness and depression. In such situations, education could be an attempt to reconstitute the self, and identity and a life in changing times. Hopper and Osborn (1975) add a further social dimension in arguing that learners were often marginalized people, torn between different social affiliations, wondering who and what they were, and using education to resolve the uncertainties evoked. Starting on a journey to learning involves the constant negotiation of multiple identities as mature women balance their studies with the demands of home, looking after children, family, friends and sometimes work. (Edwards 1990, 1993; Pascall and Cox 1993)

Because I first went to St Gerard's at the end of January 1988 I was too late to take any O Grade or H Grade course. I thus embarked on the inevitable 'acquire or improve your typing skills' modular course. I also attended swimming, aerobic classes as well as an art class. Like the Edinburgh community school in MacIntosh's (1990) study, in St Gerard's swimming and aerobics were popular with working-class women in the process of bringing up children. Similarly, art, musical keyboard, cookery and sewing seemed to be more popular with older women.

The school also boasted a free crèche, a striking example of women not experiencing the constraints in adult education through a lack of childcare facilities. Indeed the presence of the free crèche was the deciding factor as far as I and many others were concerned. St Gerard's was a good example of the dominant male ideology not defining in its own terms what the purpose of education is and not completely neglecting to take into account women's views and women's needs. Other schools nearer where I lived did not have such a provision and neither did the local further education college where I could have taken traditional higher education entry qualifications or an Access course. The University of Glasgow had a crèche for Access students but the cost was prohibitive.

Money from the European Social Fund had been sought to finance the crèche because the school was at the heart of an area of multiple social deprivation. The rationale behind having the crèche was to offer adults/women opportunities to learn and gain formal qualifications. The adult students were primarily women and exclusively women insofar as gaining academic qualifications except for one male aged 80 who gained an A pass for his Higher in Art in 1988. The mature women who took academic qualifications tended initially to come from the adjacent and more affluent areas even in the case of the one working-class single mother who studied English, History and Modern Studies and who did not drop out after a week or two. Most of the women were married and had small children. The women of the immediate area tended to take vocationally based qualifications such as O-Grade Secretarial Studies and O-Grade Home Economics as well as SCOTVEC National Certificate modules in computing and word-processing.

According to both the Headteacher and the Deputy Headteacher, who were interviewed in October 1998, the school not only welcomed adults but eventually, due to increasing pressure for closure and damaging press speculation, actively sought to recruit them. Indeed, many women adult students, myself included, participated in these recruitment drives. The full-time crèche enabled many young mothers in particular to progress to further and higher education. After a couple of years 25 adults, in the main, as it turned out, young mothers with young children, were following courses which included Higher Grades subjects though there was no deliberate attempt to attract this particular group from the local community. Since 1990 no less than 13 young mothers moved on to full-time higher education after attending St Gerard's secondary. Many graduated, myself included, some with first class honours degrees. Three of the most recent were recipients of a Roberston Trust scholarship, a Glasgow-based educational trust giving scholarships of £3,000 per annum and which was applied for through the school. The Trust aims at assisting individuals from areas of multiple deprivation to enter and remain in higher education. Since the first scholarships were awarded (two of the recipients are single mothers) working-class local women became increasingly represented and latterly made up a significant part of the returning adult group. These women, unlike their middle-class predecessors, tended to be drawn towards the sciences rather than the arts and humanities and also tended to matriculate in the new universities in the Glasgow area.

Apart from a very few teachers who were completely opposed to the idea, the staff enthusiastically accepted the whole notion of having adults in the school. It was generally felt as a result of having adults in the school that the pupils were better prepared, better behaved and keener to learn. The main reason for opposition was fear of having teaching scrutinised by the potentially more critical adults. The staff thought that initially adults had low expectations of themselves but integrated well in class and were highly motivated. Indeed, 'the competition created is beneficial to both adults and pupils, the latter, however, can sometimes sit back and let the adults do all the work in class' and 'if the teacher is not careful adults can dominate the classroom' (St Gerard's Secondary School 1987: 12). In the secondary school or in higher education class discussions/seminars may be dominated by a group of more self-confident mature students, whilst the more inhibited may be intimidated, subjugated and silenced. This is not however a problem linked to the age/experience differential. In any case, it cuts both ways since mature students may also be intimidated by confident pupils/school-leavers. This is less of a problem than the tendency for males to dominate and females to be held back in tutorials (Duke, 1987).

The staff at St Gerard's seemed very much alive to the issues of educating adults with adolescents which involves the interaction of mature students with the teachers and the interaction of mature students with the pupils, although one teacher adapted to teaching mixed groups by insisting that all late comers, be they mature women or pupils, wait outside the class until he allowed them to come in!

Like other adult returners, women returned to formal education in St Gerard's for a variety of motivations, some to prove to themselves and to others that they had ability which they felt had not been recognised, some to prove their worth through education, and some to escape from their daily routines. Although Access courses count more women than men, there is far less of a discrepancy than is the case in adults returning to school. The reasons for this are far from clear. Perhaps men are more under the influence of the accepted conventional patterns of school, training, and job, though they are socially and economically freer than women. 'Paradoxically it seems that men suffer more than women as a result of the educational process although vocationally and economically women are more disadvantaged by it' (MacIntosh 1990: 67). Although education is slanted towards men and their linear career path, boys are constrained by the rigid system which leads them to believe that education is something you leave behind you. They are thus less likely to take advantage of later opportunities to broaden and extend their education. They have a more instrumental view of education and also find it difficult to admit to areas of ignorance or lack of knowledge whereas women do not tend to have this hang-up. (MacIntosh 1990)

Conclusion

Adult education, whether in a traditional or non-traditional space, has a long history of interest in the development and transformation of the self. It belongs to and extends the lineage of taking care of oneself in order to transform oneself identified by Foucault (1988:18). Many of the mature women students' experience in St Gerard's, as in other studies of women returning to formal education after a gap, highlighted complex relationships between their learning and issues of identity:

> Central to the construction of new identities seems to be process through which students use the course to make meaning, of both their studies and their wider lives through new ways of knowing. Students found that the acquisition of new forms of knowledge introduced them to other ways of interpreting and understanding their own worlds (Lea 1996: 10).

Ironically, St Gerard's secondary school was highly successful as an adult education space which encouraged and motivated women adult learners not only to pursue their own education but also in some cases to pursue community involvement. Unfortunately, it was decidedly unsuccessful in its ostensible role as a school. By the time of its closure, it was virtually deserted by most of its pupils. Nonetheless, St Gerard's did provide a potentially valuable role model for Glasgow City Council's current attempts to transform a number of its secondary schools in areas of multiple deprivation into community schools.

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Orientation in time: leisure, learning and the life course

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Three men are pulling
at the starboard oar,
the man I am and was
and the man I'll be.

The boat sails
to a blind horizon.
Who's pulling on the portside oar
that keeps our course straight?

Pull as we may
we're kept from turning
to port or starboard by that
invisible oarsman.

'Crew' by Norman MacCaig, 1988

In this paper, I suggest that the dialogue between learning as lived experience and orientation in time is of relevance to the field of adult learning. I will explore this dialogue by tracing correspondences between narratives about leisure, learning and attitudes towards the mutability of experience selected from pilot interviews with two mature students. This is a preliminary paper, and I hope that it will form the starting point for a more detailed phenomenological study of ageing and learning.

There is slippage between the terms 'leisure' and 'learning' that is reflected in the interviews. While it is still possible to see them as discrete 'activities', it is increasingly acknowledged that learning permeates what was conventionally designated as spare time, and that leisure activities such as reading, museum visiting, going on holiday, using the Internet and many more, simply are learning.

The distinction between leisure as a way of being (as lived experience) and leisure perceived as a series of discrete events of finite duration (anecdotal leisure events) has recently been explored in the context of leisure studies (Hultsman, 1995). The former entails a more holistic conception of leisure, one that is seamless rather than segmented:

> In such an existence, the various facets of one's life - play, education, work, social and family relations for example - tend to blend together in the sense that one does not bother to compartmentalize or categorize the affairs that constitute the daily round of living. (Hultsman, 1995: 93).

A critical aspect of this view of leisure is that the way one lives is more important than what one does. Hultsman takes his bearings from Eastern philosophies, especially philosophical Buddhism. The view of leisure as lived experience is also reminiscent of existential thought, and can be applied to changes in identity over time. Thus, I will begin by relating this more holistic conception of leisure to perspectives on ageing. I will then turn to the learners' own accounts of the relationship between learning, leisure and ageing, framing these accounts with existential approaches to orientation in time.

Leisure, lifestyle and ageing

Although, in this paper, I am interested in the ageing process rather than experience of 'being old', self-perception, leisure, learning and orientation in time are strong themes in studies of older adults, and it is relevant to contextualise ageing in this literature. For example, Young (1988) identifies a 'social clock' which guides our expectations in a biographical context. This 'clock' raises questions about biographical disruption and the age-related expectations of the different sexes and generational cohorts. Age-related expectations are affected by prevailing social conditions. In 1984, Meyrowitz drew attention to an increasing similarity in the modes of presentation of self and leisure-time pursuits adopted by parents and children, believing that the more informal 'uni-age' style was a result of media imagery as a major form of communication. For Featherstone and Hepworth (1990a) this is one example of the postmodern deconstruction of stages of the life course. Furthermore, 'evidence continues to accrue which disproves the necessary decline of mental, sexual and physiological capacities in old age.' (1990a: 146). Chronological age is increasingly being discredited as an indicator of inevitable age norms and lifestyles.

The notion of lifestyle nestles within the phenomenological idea of leisure as lived experience. Lifestyle is partly a pre-reflective way of life, partly a conscious decision to select this particular consumer product (whether this be a pair of trainers for aerobics, or an evening class). It is clearly important in the formation and maintenance of aspects of identity. Featherstone and Hepworth (1990a and 1990b) believe it to be one of the most important features of postmodern culture:

> The emphasis upon flexibility, adaptability and self-expression long associated with youth is now being extended for forthcoming generations into old age. Here we can refer to the whole paraphernalia of consumer cultural artefacts and services. Jogging, exercise routines, cosmetics, health foods and fashionable leisure-wear are now marketed for elderly people to sustain health, youthful energy and the spirit of *self-improvement* deep into old age. The consequences for relationships between the generations are momentous. (Featherstone and Hepworth, 1990b: 273. My italics).

This is positive discourse, but there needs to be a proviso: culture does not have the overarching power to render the developmental sequence of embodied existence redundant. Time is indelibly inscribed on our bodies (Turner, 1995), and we still have to 'face up to' the reality of physical ageing. This is brought home to us by two further developments: the increase in life expectancy, and medical advances which make us more aware of our bodies.

Gubrium (1975) suggests that old age is a mask which conceals a very different subjective sense of personal identity - a mask that has simultaneously made old people invisible (Peterson and Karnes, 1976) and elicited disgust (Featherstone and Hepworth, 1990b). The 'mask' of ageing has profound effects on the reflective process whereby women (and men) evaluate their bodies according to culturally validated ideas of attractiveness and age-appropriate behaviour. Because of the cruel disjunction between outward appearance and felt experience, Featherstone and Hepworth (1990a) and Wearing (1995) among others believe that, as a society, we need to develop a new public language of ageing - one with a much greater expressive range (although Featherstone and Hepworth, 1990b, believe that it may still be difficult to construct a positive image of 'deep' old age).

Wearing (1995) suggests that it may be possible to offer resistance to negative images of ageing through the discourse of leisure:

> In fact, leisure is possibly the one area in advanced industrial capitalist societies where freedom is encouraged, albeit a freedom constrained by the commodification of leisure goods and services and by ideas of legitimate leisure and pleasure (Rojek, 1985). When applied to older persons, leisure emphasizes what a person *can* do rather than what they are no longer physically capable of doing. Therefore, it has distinct possibilities for resistance to ageism. (Wearing 1995: 272).

Her attention to leisure *choices* can be interpreted in existential terms. The ageing individual as an active learner, and an active consumer of allied leisure opportunities, can be contrasted with the self-fulfilling prophecy of under-use rooted in the emphasis on deficiency and deterioration that undermines individual potential. The deficiency model is embedded in the following functional theories of ageing: 'disengagement theory' (Cumming and Henry, 1961) in which ageing is seen as a process of attenuating emotional involvements as a way of preparing for death socially and psychologically; and 'activity theory' (Havinghurst, 1963) in which taking up new forms of activity in later life is a form of compensation for lost roles. This language of 'attenuation' and 'compensation' is no longer tenable.

Gilleard (1996) also considers the refashioning of older adults' identities in contemporary society. Again, the suggestion is that late or post- modernity offers an opportunity to redefine personal identity through the exercise of choice or agency:

> A new generation of third age consumers is emerging within contemporary culture. The targeting of older people in marketing and business journals, the up-market housing offering new retirement lifestyles, the distribution of holiday brochures for the 'golden years' or those 'young at heart', the emergence of 'trendy' magazines for a self-consciously older readership, the growing number of 'guru' writers reappraising and rewarding views of older lifestyles; all are evidence of a culturally emergent phenomenon, epitomised by the term The Third Age (1996: 491).

Gilleard acknowledges that the material features of class are still present, but goes on to suggest that perhaps they can be subordinated by those aspects of desire that shape identity – specifically, desire for consumer goods and services. Attention to choice of consumer goods and services, which can also be described as making 'leisure' choices as Wearing (1995) suggests, potentially leads to a new approach towards the whole field of gerontology. It would be a shift in focus that managed to transcend 'structured dependency' and 'the social construction of old age' to a 'richer, more agentic view of older people both reacting to and contributing to a new pluralistic culture for later life' (Gilleard, 1996: 493).

Gilleard refers to the emergence of the self as a lifelong project, resonating with Giddens' (1992) similar observation about modernity. The self as a lifelong project also explicitly resonates with 'lifelong learning' - a term with revived political currency. It may be worthwhile pursuing political implications a little further. In a recent class focussing on equal opportunities issues, a group of mature students were asked the question '*Does an attention to lifestyle and leisure choices offer a chance to subvert western ageist stereotypes?*' They answered an emphatic 'no'. Their reason for this denial lay in the suspicion that capitalist society merely offers new opportunities for identity construction in later life as a cynical response to an ageing population. They saw it as gloss: as soon as economic conditions change, older adults will once again be divested of opportunities for heterogeneous lifestyles and identities. They will once again become defined as invisible, liminal, and twilight beings, caught between life and death as Hazan (1994), among others, suggest. There is a shadow of this rational distrust in Gilleard's association of the modern individualistic project of self with the legacy of the new Right, including the erosion of the welfare state:

> Modernity had structured the identities of old people, exchanging their role in the productive processes for a guaranteed but limited security in old age. Late or post-modernity, while dislocating and diffusing these earlier collective social identities, offers older people the opportunity to engage more comprehensively with the project of identity. (1996: 495).

Can ageist stereotypes be subverted? In a sense, they are bolstered by social theories of ageing that look at older adults as a category apart (especially those theories that posit rigidly demarcated developmental stages), although this would never have been the intention of gerontologists working within this kind of paradigm. Hazan (1994) is eloquent on this point, suggesting that older adults may experience and embody two divergent perceptions of time. This is partly as a result of tension felt between their existential 'I' and their social 'me', a characteristically human tension first noted by Mead (1934). I am reminded of the 'mask of ageing' posited by Gubrium (1975) – to reiterate, the existential disjunction between outward appearance and felt inner experience. How might time be experienced by the inner self in later life?

> As a self-sufficient, insular system, it [the inner self] has mythlike properties, combining elements of personal genesis, the presentation and resolution of fundamental questions of meaning, and orientation in social space and time. Narratives in the form of reminiscences and life review may bear witness to such internal processes. (Hazan, 1994: 84-85).

The intuition that, in later life, questions of meaning and orientation in time are posed by individuals, seems to be borne out in the autobiography of a Yankee farmer, Joel Andrews. Cole and Premo (1987) suggest that Andrews' writing is a testament to 'the poignancy and integrity of this ordinary man's struggle with aging and death in the context of his own historical circumstances and religious beliefs' (1987: 79). They relate this following extract (1987: 79):

> Am I prepared or not? This is a solemn question to put to myself. If I am not prepared, it is high time I should be, thought I.
>
> *- Joel Andrews, age 68 while fencing the burial ground, June 25, 1845*

Passages that include such explicit reflection on mortality and spiritual development lead them to suggest that 'autobiographical writing offers a vast and virtually untapped resourse for the historical phenomenology of aging' (Cole and Premo, 1987: 79). Hazan (1994) would agree:

> Most studies of old age focus on the outer self, only a few venturing beyond appearance to examine the practices of life review and reminiscence and even fewer attempt to straddle the two. (1994: 85).

'Straddling the two' is where I would like to place writing that follows this preliminary paper. In order to bridge the inner and outer, Hazan advocates focussing on the 'interstices' between socio-cultural and phenomenological accounts. This type of methodology could also be expressed as an oscillation between shared meanings and the individual experience of those meanings in which a *unique meaning is created.* In phenomenological narrative an awareness of transience is inescapable, and it is equally present in socio-cultural accounts of the life course:

> This life project of modern man has old age as its protagonist. Against the grain of multiculturalism and pastiche reality stands the ultimate and absolute certainty of death, whose imminence can be forestalled by the penultimate phase of life – old age. Thus at the midst of contemporary western post-modern experience, old age reveals itself as a vestige of linearity and modernity. (Hazan, 1994: 96).

Postmodern deconstructions of the life course are embedded in the revived legitimacy of leisure activities as a way of expressing oneself. It may be true that, in lifestyle terms, postmodern consumer culture offers the potential to free oneself from limiting discourse of decrepitude and dependency. However, ageing is always coloured by an awareness of our linear orientation in time: a tangible feeling of processing through life, of time ahead 'shrinking', and time behind expanding.

Orientation in time, leisure and learning

> Age and ageing in our society are inextricably bound up with our linear time consciousness. (Davies, 1990: 185).

Consciousness of linearity, and, particularly, the perception of dwindling available time, lead both respondents included in this paper to prioritise those activities they find rewarding in life, including both learning and leisure (and for each they are not readily separable). The first respondent, Claire, is a mature student with a husband and teenaged child. She is coming to the end of her degree programme, and anticipates continuing with study, certainly taking a masters degree, perhaps afterwards a PhD. And then, when her son is of an age to go to university, she speculates that she might explore Europe in a camper van with her husband. The following extract from part of our conversation was offered as a rationale for these choices:

> *I mean as well, you could ask. I had an auntie I'm very close to, closer to than I was my mum, because she's only a few years older than me, she died at fifty, breast cancer, and I was thinking, there was more, there was so much more she wanted to do and never did – learning to drive – we take it for granted but she never did. And I was starting to think there's more to life, and then a friend of mine died at Christmas, she had a baby, and she's got another one who was two the other week, and she died at thirty-one, and I'm thinking, yeah, definitely, you do what you want in life now, so those sort of things in my life they do change…how you see things.*

In Claire's case, it was loss of loved ones that precipitated an acute awareness of evanescence. The second respondent, Andy, a doctoral student, also prioritises learning and leisure as a result of loss. But in Andy's response, loss is articulated *as* the perception of available time contracting:

> *Change is neutral I suppose…I mean change is what, you make of change what you will, but obviously there are, I mean it's loss rather than change that's distressing, I suppose. Loss of time, ideas like the fact that when you're very young you think you can fit loads of things in, there seems to be loads of time and days seem to go on and weeks and months seem to stretch out, but as you get older time seems to contract, and you realise that you're not in one lifetime ever going to have the time to do all of the things you might like to do. You're never going to be able to go everywhere, see everything, read all the books you might want to read…just experience everything you might want to…*
>
> ***How does that affect your attitude towards learning? I mean, the realisation that your time is finite?***
>
> *I don't know if there has ever been a sort of point of realisation…it's just one of those things that changes…I don't know that it has except perhaps in as much as, yeah, perhaps it has in as much as now I sort of feel that because there isn't infinite time, you know, lifespan is finite, there's only so many years and so much time and you don't get it again, that perhaps I feel that there's no point in doing something that you're not interested in…*
>
> *I suppose it is part of that aspect that I was saying, that things seem kind of finite when you're small, then you realise there's this whole kind of universe of strange and bizarre and wonderful knowledge…it seems like you can encompass everything, it seems like, you know, the universe is kind of manageable and encompassable, but I think as you get older you realise that it's not, or at least not within one human lifetime anyway…*

Andy aptly expresses a child's eye view: 'knowledge of the world' feels finite, and time infinite. He also observes that you are less reflective when young, tend to 'live in or for the moment' more. As you get older, time ahead – which also feels like a space, an open field, uncharted territory – diminishes while the possibilities for learning expand exponentially. Naturally, your willingness to explore these possibilities depends upon motivation, an attitude of curiosity, and in some cases, the physical and material means to explore the world. Both Claire and Andy have engaged in conscious reflection about their orientation in time and related it to their learning choices. For both of them these learning choices are also leisure choices. Claire's possible expedition in a camper van is quite clearly leisure, but also quite clearly a continuation of her passion for learning. For Andy, the rewards of learning quite emphatically reside in the activity itself rather than the completion of the activity in question, a perspective on learning that can be related to Csikszentmihalyi and Robinson's (1990) description of a phenomenon they term 'the flow experience':

> [P]eople play chess, climb mountains, compose music, and do a hundred other nonproductive activities not because they expect a result or reward after the activity is concluded, but because they enjoy what they are doing to the extent that experiencing the activity becomes its own reward. This autotelic experience, that is, one that contains its goal in itself, was called flow because respondents used that term frequently to describe the deep involvement in and effortless progression of the activity. (1990: 7).

Learning from a flow experience often coincides with a leisure activity. It can be contrasted with the past tense idea of an 'achievement'. For Andy, notions of reward on completion are inextricably entwined with the structures of a goal-oriented society:

> *It's my spare time that I think defines who I am, it's what you do in your spare time, in your chosen...what you choose to do in your spare time that defines somebody as what they are, I think...to a larger extent than what they do as a job, I think. That's one of the fallacies in society in a way, when people say 'So what do you do?' and people reply with their, with their occupation...I mean the idea of an occupation is becoming outmoded in some ways anyway if you can't be one thing for life.*
>
> ***Can you learn from a job?***
>
> *Of course the thing about it is that sometimes you're put in a situation like that where you learn things that you wouldn't necessarily, I mean, you discover things that you wouldn't necessarily otherwise have gone and sought out, erm, certainly I've done jobs where I've learnt, I've certainly learnt in jobs, I've learnt things that I didn't even know existed, so I suppose to some extent there is value in, to some extent not being totally in control of what you learn because if you're totally in control then you may not stumble across, you know, other areas or things that you didn't know about...*

Several times during the course of the interview Andy mentions a revelatory experience: 'I didn't know something like this existed in the world'. At the same time, he is at pains to make a distinction between passing interest and something that really has personal, or imaginative, appeal. Here it may be helpful to consider the role of context in helping to forge an imaginative link, or personal response. It is not only encounters with new things in the world that constitute learning experiences. Seeing familiar things in a new light (a new context) can also enlarge an individual's world. This focus on the individual's experience, their 'world', resonates with both phenomenology *and* the idea that the self can be treated as a project.

Discussion about interest, personal delight, choice and imagination, may lull one into thinking that learning is solely positive, or is experienced as such. Bearing in mind that his response began with the loss of time and simultaneous 'encompassability' of things in the world, Andy also observes that some forms of involuntary learning can be uncomfortable:

> *Things other than things you find interesting don't necessarily feel like positive, happy things...other things, learning how to cope with loss, grief, sadness, anger...you wouldn't choose this learning but it can happen...*

Similarly, the things that you find interesting or delightful are not always easy, but can entail challenge as well as absorption, disruption as well as flow.

In conclusion, as adult learners, and perhaps educators, we are familiar with the idea that we bring our cumulative experience to bear on new ideas in order to interpret them. Turner (1995) reminds us of Nietzsche's (1980) intuition that man is ontologically nostalgic – that is, memory is always a consciousness of ageing and death. There is life in the past, and there is also poignancy. This quality of reflection, literally a perception of the fabric of human time, is probably only rarely conscious, perhaps increasingly so as we get older. But it is present nonetheless, and not only defines identity, but also being:

> Our life is lived in relation to our finitude. This is what Heidegger is referring to when he proposes that transcendence is the essence of *Dasein* [Being in the world and the now]...*Dasein's* total penetration by birth and death and the concomitant fear of non-existence are our ontological condition. (Adam, 1990: 128).

The extracts from the two interviews presented here seem to suggest that bracketing perception of time and self-perception of ageing as research questions would make a valuable contribution to our understanding of the complexities of the learning process.

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Troubling spaces in the analysis of adult education policy

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The education of adults is subject to increasing reform and intervention through the influence of national and European Union policies. As policies operate increasingly authoritatively to fix the 'truths' of adult education within discourses (Nicoll 1998) this is troubling for many. 'Lifelong learning' is an example of such truths and is no exception in its disturbing effects.

The emergence of 'truths' such as lifelong learning as the effect of policy is suggestive of a role that it can or may play as an exercise of power. Policies may aim to disrupt previous fixings, or stabilisations, of truth within accepted discourses of adult education, in order that things might change. In this lifelong learning 'troubles' through an unsettling of relations of power that are adult education and is 'troubling' to the individuals who have been subject to its established regimes of truth. It creates spaces within which old certainties are questioned, and this can be both threatening and productive. Within these spaces questions emerge about how best to engage with such phenomena in the analysis of policy and adult education.

In the policy analysis literature there has been much debate in the last ten years as to the methods most appropriate for the study of policy and the need for more useful methods than have hitherto been to the fore. Underlying this has been on the one hand concerns about the validity of existing approaches — what makes it more than opinion? — and on the other concerns over the lack of impact on policy makers and making of such analyses. These debates have taken place largely outside the realms of those concerned with the education of adults. Drawing on these wider debates this paper attempts to outline some of the strengths and weaknesses of the main approaches adopted. In the process, and drawing in particular on the work of Foucault, it formulates its own approach to policy analysis and its implications for the study of policy in the education of adults.

The paper is in two parts. The first, drawing on discussions within the policy studies literature attempts to outline some of the strengths and weaknesses of the main approaches adopted. The second, by drawing in particular on the work of Foucault (1980) and the metaphor of space, begins to formulate its own approach to policy analysis and its implications. In some final comments the approach is discussed in terms of how it, as well as policy, produces phenomena such as lifelong learning as objects of reform and intervention in ways that are complex and ambiguous but which may however open up useful spaces for consideration of lifelong learning and the education of adults.

Studying policy

Different approaches to policy analysis are productive and limited in specific ways. In the contemporary literature it is suggested that they are 'failing' to clarify the complex effects of policy. This is as significant for the analysis of adult education policy as for other sectors, and it is therefore useful to identify what differences and commonalties there may be in approach, what kinds of questions they permit, and what spaces there may be for alternatives.

Discussion of the nature of policy analysis arises from dissatisfaction with scientific and critical — Marxist and neo-Marxist — approaches. Much traditional policy work is taken to be 'positivist' and unable to work outside pre-existing relations of power within the social formation (Marshall and Anderson 1994). Positivist policy work maintains social order by aiming to improve what is already existing; 'analysing and understanding its problems and discovering and devising the best solutions or, at least, ameliorisations' (Scheurich 1994, p 299). Analysis here focuses on the way in which policy descriptions of the world 'match up' with empirical evidence and considers policy proposals in a realist sense as rational descriptions for change. In these approaches, the fundamental inequalities and exercises of power within the social formation are unaddressed. Other approaches — for example, Marxist, feminist, critical — aim to reveal and oppose entrenched relations of power within policy or their effects. However, Scheurich argues that while such alternative critical approaches to policy aim to oppose such relations of power, the work they do acts to symbolise 'latent public concerns' (1994, p 299), enabling accommodation within the dominant policy practices of liberal democracy. The effect of critical policy analysis is a 'maintaining or restabilising of the social order that might have been threatened if the "latent concerns" were not given voice through policies' (p 299). In other words, the challenge of such approaches works within the accommodationist logic of the liberal pluralist state.

Policy theorists have argued for the adoption of particular methods and perspectives to address the perceived weaknesses of policy study. For example, Evers (1988) suggests an approach using particular scientific epistemological frameworks and methodologies for the analysis of values. Others argue for a greater focus on system improvement as an outcome of policy studies and the strengthening of linkages between different policy arenas. Many contributors to the debate suggest a refocusing (Power 1992), or use of additional strategies of analysis (Codd 1988, Scheurich 1994). The diversifying of opinion on suitable approaches to policy analysis led Hatcher and Troyna (1994, p 161) to question the coherence within the field: 'what meta-theory is necessary to achieve a non-reductionist, totalising theoretical coherence?'. A theme arising from within this debate is that the complexity and confusion of policy effects present a requirement for greater clarity of approach and definition of terms. However, the trouble with this position is that it is itself produced from within the boundaries of the dominant — realist/ideology critique — approaches. Both the problems identified and the solutions found are framed by existing assumptions about policy analysis.

Analysts of policy have tended to adopt a realist stance, focusing on the ways in which policy descriptions of the world 'match up' with empirical evidence or ideologically mystify the 'real world', and the ways in which policy proposals flow 'naturally' and 'rationally' from descriptions of the identified reality. In focusing attention on descriptions of the world in this way language is assumed to denote, represent or reflect reality unproblematically. This is the case also for those who provide ideological critiques of policy, for what is suggested is that reality has been described wrongly to suit particular interests and needs to be represented more truthfully. This kind of focus has been 'natural' in the sense that it draws upon particular 'common sense' views of the world, and of language, based upon certain epistemological and ontological assumptions. These have increasingly been questioned within the contemporary period, leading to the kinds of questions suggested earlier over the validity of dominant methods of policy analyis. In the process, attention has been taken away from considerations of how policy language acts to build up representations of reality through connotation (Potter 1996) and from the problematic nature of language and its performativity, something which has fuelled much debate in social theory since at least the second world war. In this, there is space for other forms of analysis, where policy 'truths' are explored in ways which reveal the mechanisms through with they are built up as reality, and take a/effect.

Increased interest in discourse and discourse analysis as an approach to policy in recent years has done much to open up such fresh avenues of investigation and understanding (Taylor 1997). Discursive approaches to policy draw largely on the work of Foucault. Ball (1994) argues for plural, poststructural and postmodern approaches. Here rather than seeking scientific truth or uncovering ideology and power, policy analysis examines the workings of power-knowledge through the meanings fabricated through and around policy texts and discourses. He argues that the importance given to notions of 'clarity' in the determination of policy meanings actually works against an appropriate analysis of policy: 'For me, much rests on the meaning or possible meanings that we give to policy; it affects "how" we research and how we interpret what we find.' (Ball 1994, p 15). Drawing on Foucault's notion of archaeology, Scheurich (1994, p 297) suggests that 'policy archaeology proposes that a grid of social regularities constitutes what is seen as a problem, what is socially legitimised as a policy solution, and what policy studies itself is'. These approaches both draw upon and promote the linguistic turn in social theory which foregrounds the discursive work at play in policy and the fabrication of certain issues as problems and specific responses as solutions. This is examined through approaches drawing on discourse analysis wherein it is not simply policies themselves, but also the realm of policy analysis itself which becomes an object of study, as the 'truths' of policy are held to be inscribed by particular approaches to the study of policy. In other words, policy analysis is itself part of the object of study and is not separate from it. It is part of the practices through which policy is fabricated as an object of study and fabricates them. It therefore needs to be discursively reflexive in the work it does rather than treating policy as independent of the practices through which it is studied. Without these kinds of moves, policy analysis is in danger of becoming trapped within a theory/practice binary that separates the effects of analysis from the objects and problems which it claims to objectively study (Scheurich 1994). It needs to ensure that its practices recognise their complicity in the constitution of these in ways which powerfully shape both policy and adult education practices. Foucault's work offers a place of departure, or space, for such analyses.

Troubling spaces

Foucault's (1980) work assists in offering a discursive space within which boundaries and definitions can be continually questioned, or troubled. Through such an approach questions can be asked such as those surrounding policy analysts' complicity in the construction of objects of policy, the role of policy and its analysis in representing rather than reflecting reality, and the way in which policy may impact — take a/effect — within discourses of adult education. Although such a point of departure has its own limits, it is also productive in countering, rather than simply opposing, strategies for greater clarity or less ambiguity.

A full outline of the Foucault's work is not possible here and it has been done often elsewhere (Ball 1990, Usher and Edwards 1994). However, a few key points are important to highlight so as to begin to indicate what such an approach may offer and how this differs from others. Significantly, Foucault provides and draws upon notions of power, politics and critique different from those currently dominant within the policy studies and adult education arenas, and in this he counters realist approaches. Foucault (1980) indeed makes the case for these differences as a way of making problematic — troubling —conceptions of power and politics embedded within dominant forms of critique, and provide a critique that can ask questions of the work that discourses do in masking their own operations. This is as important for the analysis of adult education as it is for that of policy, in that they are both constrained by such conceptions. Below is a brief outline of these dominant conceptions followed by Foucault's own. An attempt is made to explore what kind of analyses of lifelong learning may be made possible through each of these.

Common to dominant juridical, liberal and Marxist theories of power is its conceptualisation in terms of the economy. Notions of power bound within an 'economism' (Foucault 1980, p 88) constrain critique in that other forms of power are not then able to be examined. It produces specific conceptions of oppression or repression that are also constraining.

An economism in juridical notions of power emerges in that power is a right of individuals which can be transferred through cession or contract; it 'obeys the model of a legal transaction involving a contractual type of exchange (hence the clear analogy that runs through all these theories between power and commodities, power and wealth)' (Foucault 1980, p 88). It is in the act of individuals giving up their power that political power is made possible. Juridical and liberal analyses of power are both then bound within a view of power 'that is taken to be a right, which one is able to possess like a commodity...is something that one possesses, acquires, cedes through force or contract, that one alienates or recovers, that circulates, that voids this or that region' (pp 88-9). This is a view common within liberal democracies. Power is revealed in instances of its inappropriate expression — where the boundary or limit of the contract has been surpassed, and this is seen as oppression. The form of policy critique of lifelong learning suggested here is of whether the state has overstepped the limit of its contract through a reconfiguration of systems and processes of learning, or, perhaps, whether the rights of individuals are equitably upheld.

Within general Marxist notions power is premised upon the economy, in that power is conceptualised dominantly in its maintenance of relations of production, and in its domination of a class of people which has itself only been made possible by those relations of production.

> On this view, then, the historical *raison d'être* of political power is to be found in the economy and the principle of its concrete forms and actual functioning, is located in the economy.' (Foucault 1980, pp 88-9)

In that power is essential in the maintenance and reproduction of class relations required by the economy it is a mechanism of repression —'that which represses nature, the instincts, a class, individuals' (p 90). A policy critique of lifelong learning here is suggested in terms of how it may operate as power to maintain or re-inscribe relations of production, and so repress the working class.

Foucault's work is an attempt to escape such economisms through the formulation of a conception of power that is non-economic; it is to be seen neither solely as a commodity nor as it functions in the maintenance of relations of production. This is made possible through an analogy of power as a relation of force expressed though politics. Power is to be '*struggle*, *conflict* and *war*' through a 'reversal of Clausewitz's assertion that war is politics continued by other means' (Foucault 1980, p 90). Without politics war would ensue.

This suggests that quite radical changes in conceptions of political power are possible and potentially productive — for as soon as power is conceived of differently so are the very objects of critique and their effects. For the analysis of policy in adult education this is obviously a significant departure and one which may produce significant new understandings of objects such as 'lifelong learning' as policy construction. In taking up Foucault's conception of power, oppression or repression are also reconfigured; '[o]n this view, repression is none other than the realisation, within the continual warfare of this pseudo-peace, of a perpetual relationship of force' (1980, p 92). Power then is no longer that which is expressed in the crossing of a boundary of what is legitimately permitted through contract, nor is it imposed upon individuals or groups, it is relational, and always existent as a force of action within a network of such force relations. This suggests the authoritative deployment of objects of discourse through policy as actions of force —'insertions' or 'openings' within networks. Through such an analogy their multiple and so often ambiguous effects as power can be explored.

It also suggests that such networks of relations are peaceful expressions of war that would emerge if they did not remain, and in this they can be seen in the first instance as productive. However, even though politics can be conceived of differently in that political power tries to put in place such a 'reign of peace' this does not imply that equal relations are forthcoming:

> this by no means implies that it suspends the effects of war or neutralises the disequilibrium revealed in the final battle. The role of political power, on this hypothesis, is perpetually to re-inscribe this relation through a form of unspoken warfare; to re-inscribe it in social institutions, in economic inequalities, in language, in the bodies themselves of each and everyone of us. (Foucault 1980, p 90)

Policy critique becomes focused upon objects of policy as mechanisms of re-inscription and in their effects as concrete expressions within the social formation.

This suggests forms of critique in the study of policy and adult education that may be quite different from those already accepted within these discursive terrains, although they do not attempt to replace them or provide any unified or generalised theory of their practices. Rather their work could be viewed as operating within discursive 'spaces' that are the intersections of local discourses of policy, policy study and adult education, where objects presented as truth within policy and taken up within the social formation are troubled through questioning. The questions here are not of the truth but around the truth: in what way does a policy truth become 'necessary', through what mechanisms did it come to be, and what does it do? At the same time these are troubling spaces where modernist notions of truth in policy analysis and the education of adults are themselves brought into question.

Comments

It would seem important to make some comments on the space suggested here and its implications for adult educators. Lifelong learning has been produced — worked up connotatively — within this text as an authoritative policy intervention aiming to reconfigure dominant truths and practices of adult education, and in this it deserves some further development and attention—What does such a view of lifelong learning suggest?

Lifelong learning is an object of policy; a policy goal within the policy arena that seeks to trouble dominant relations of power that are adult education. Policy aims to re-inscribe the 'reign of peace' that is its goal. Existing practices are troubled through opening a space in which questions are asked as to their effectiveness in achieving specific goals - enhancing economic competitiveness, raising achievement, widening participation. The UK Green Paper on lifelong learning (Secretary of State for Education and Employment 1998) demonstrates radical intent through its attempts to renew post-school provision through reframing it as a space of lifelong learning. However, this is not altogether successful, as the sector specific papers which have been published alongside the Green Paper itself demonstrate. Post-school provision is troubled by the work of lifelong learning, but also attempts to accommodate it within the pre-existing sectoral and institutional narratives. In this both policy makers and educators are complicit in the re-inscription of unequal relations within institutions, within the economy more broadly, and in our very bodies and the bodies of learners through our production as subjects.

Lifelong learning is thus revealed as an exercise of power though which policies aim to disrupt previous stabilisations in relations of power in order that things might change. Although lifelong learning troubles through such disruptions, and may be troubling to those who have been subject to the regimes of truth of adult education, it creates spaces within which old certainties are required to be questioned, and this may be both threatening and productive.

It is the mechanisms by which policy produces objects of adult education and the effects of these as re-inscription within the social formation that are highlighted as significant questions through this type of analysis. Answers to questions cannot of course be viewed as 'truth', nor do they attempt clarity or simplicity. For not only will effects be multiple and uncertain but in finding any 'answers' it is necessary to reflexively ask how the analysis itself — this one also — attempts to work up its facticity, the potential effects of this re-inscription, and its complicity in the continuation of 'war' through these means. Here objects identified by policy and the discussions of these by analysts and educators, act together to work up and shape the 'truths' of adult education policy.

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Accommodation for adult education

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What are the essential prerequisites for successful adult learning? Most people would immediately think in terms of a good teacher well attuned to the needs of adult learners; then there would rightly be emphasis on such factors as motivation and support at home or from friends. Would, however, the place where learning took place be of importance and if so how important? There have been and still are widely differing views about this aspect and it is the purpose of this paper to explore and discuss some of these attitudes.

In the Seventies I carried out a series of interviews with staff and students at a number of adult education centres which were in membership of the Educational Centres Association. This Association had always placed great emphasis on the importance of good comfortable surroundings for adult students and so if physical surroundings were indeed important one would expect to have some signs of this among their centres . In depth interviews were also undertaken with Principals of short term residential colleges of adult education. These colleges, often situated in converted old country houses, were places where atmosphere and environment had always been considered important .

Interviews were in addition carried out in Germany at various Volkshochschulen which were members of the Deutsche Volkshochschulen Verband. After the end of World War Two the West Germans erected a number of purpose built adult education centres, particularly in North Rhine Westphalia and care was taken to provide appropriate buildings in which adult education could take place.

Lastly, I took part in the Buildings and Accommodation in Continuing Education (BACE) Project which was carried out at the University of Lancaster under the direction of Keith Percy. The then Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education commissioned this small-scale research project in January 1980 to carry out a short -term enquiry into accommodation for adult education. The primary focus of the research was an attempt to 'gauge the value of prime-use accommodation (as distinct from dual-use accommodation in day school buildings) in the provision of a better, more extensive and more efficient adult education service.' The findings of the survey were published by the Advisory Council, *Prime Use Accommodation for Adult Education,* (Percy, Saunders, Normie and Shepherd, 1982).

As I look back at these investigations after two decades and briefly glance at some of the information and comment about this area since then, accommodation remains for me an uncertain and at times misleading field of enquiry. It has been argued that the nature of the accommodation provided for adult education has little discernible, let alone quantifiable, effect upon the quality of the educational experience. The National Institute of Adult Education report on *Accommodation and Staffing* (NIAE, 1963) commented that 'it is perfectly true,' as one (WEA) District secretary notes, that with the right chap as tutor we can do adult education in a cow-shed.' One of the 'ripostes' the report came up with to this remark was the comment of the principal of the Catholic Workers' College: 'Men can pray in a dug-out, but when they can, they build a cathedral to pray in.' These remarks illustrate the truisms which tend to obfuscate the argument. If the cowshed was not too dirty, smelly or cold there is no doubt that much could be achieved by a good tutor working with students eager to learn. On the other hand it might also be true that it would be a more educationally rewarding, let alone a more pleasant, ,experience if the class took place in pleasant and comfortable surroundings. Certainly it would seem fairly obvious that the nature of the accommodation provided for adult education activities has *some* effect on most people. Some adult educators would want to go further as did Herbert Hunsaker at a conference held in the USA on architecture for adult education:

> Such factors as design, form, space, light, color, temperature, texture, acoustics, equipment and furnishings and their physical arrangements exert a profound influence on the attitudes and emotions of people. Few persons are completely indifferent to the quality of their environment;

> nearly everybody is affected either favorably or adversely by the nature of his surroundings. We are just beginning to discover the impact of environment on the learning process, that environment itself is a powerful teacher (Hunsaker and Pierce, 1959: 5).

Hunsaker's final statement, although unsubstantiated, remains a debatable proposition, but it is easy to get carried away by the rhetoric as did Walter D Cocking when he closed that same conference:

> Environment teaches and teaches mightily...environment teaches day and night without ceasing...in our education program the environment which we create will be a stronger teacher than anyone who carries the name of teacher (Hunsaker and Pierce, 1959).

Even Henry Morris, the English educationist, who said that 'architecture is the most subtle form of compulsory aesthetic education' was not prepared to give a predominant role to environment. In a paper read to the RIBA in1945 he states categorically:

> Competent teachers and beautiful buildings are of equal importance; to this proposition I will admit no qualification whatever (Ree, 1973: 100).

In North America there has been intermittent interest in this area over the last forty years or so and much of the published material is summarised in an article by Vosko and Hiemstra (1988) which appeared in the International Journal of Lifelong Learning and a volume in New Directions For Adult And Continuing Education (Number 50, Summer1991) edited by Roger Hiemstra. One or two of the statements which are cited are either rhetoric or platitude. We do not learn anything which we did not already know from utterances such as:

> A space can be too small, cramping and hindering our performance. But a space can also be too large, leaving us feeling lost and insignificant or too far away to see and hear well. The best size spaces are those which are comfortable for the activities we perform in them Farbstein and Kantrowitz (1978:36).

However there is also much sensible material about such factors as furniture and lighting, for example,:

> The lighting standards recommended for learning environments based on needs of children and younger adults should be reexamined in light of an older group of users (Council of Education Facility Planners 1976: 1-6).

Some of the most useful material in this area is contained in an ERIC publication of 1972, *Physical Criteria for Adult Learning Environments*, by Sally White. The *Overview* to this publication contains the often quoted,but unsubstantiated, statement:

> general estimates indicate that while about seventy-five percent of learning is accounted for by motivation, meaningfulness, and memory, the remaining twenty-five percent of learning is dependent upon the effects of the physical environment (White, 1972: 1).

There is, however, a good deal of information about the visual environment in this publication which seems to be reliable:

> For concentrated mental efforts, cool colors such as green, grey, and blue tend to be physiologically relaxing and conducive to adult learning..... A yellowing of the eyes' lens occurs with increasing age. After age 35 colors at the blue end of the chromatic spectrum are difficult to distinguish. therefore, stronger tones should be used for colored presentations, especially when using yellow-blue colors (White 1972: 8).

Across the Atlantic there had been interest in accommodation for the education of adults many years earlier. In 1924 Henry Morris who was Secretary for Education in Cambridgeshire, had published his famous pamphlet, 'The Village College,' where he set out his vision of buildings ' which would provide for the co-ordination and development of all forms of education.' He insisted 'that the design and construction of the first village colleges should be very carefully provided for.' After all he argued:

> The difference between good and bad architecture is more often the difference between a good design and a bad design, rather than the difference between cheap and costly material (Ree, 1973: 153).

He managed to get one of the colleges designed (at a knockdown fee) by one of the most famous architects of the century : 'Impington Village College' 1938, by Walter Gropius and Maxwell Fry. 'One of the best buildings of its date in England, if not the best' was the verdict of Nicholas Pevsner. The building was widely praised and thought by Herbert Read to 'provide the essentials of an educative environment' (Ree,1973: 75). The colleges were built with adult wings containing club rooms and seminar rooms and inspired other LEAs, notably Leicestershire whose community colleges owe much to the ideas of Henry Morris.

Morris and his followers, even though they created some remarkable buildings for the education of the whole community where adults were given equal status did not influence the majority of LEAs, and after the Second World War Morris only achieved limited success in propagating his ideas. Meanwhile on the other side of the channel in West Germany adult education had indeed come to town. After the war faced with a huge amount of general rebuilding the German municipal authorities erected a large number of new purpose built adult education centres. Some of the philosophy behind these buildings was contained in a book by Franz Poeggeler, *Neue Haeuser Der Erwachsenenbildung*, (Poeggeler). A copy was acquired in 1962 by the National Institute of Adult Education and a summary of the main contents by Mrs E Poulsen, *New Buildings For Adult Education* (Poeggeler/Poulsen,1962) was made available at the NIAE conference that year.The question was posed, 'educational doss-house or educational hotel?' It was recognised that 'the educational hotel' has problems of its own, but it is essential that there should be a generous approach to adult education, if only to eliminate the last traces of the old label 'for the poor' (Poeggeler/Poulsen,1962:2).

Poeggeler made a comparison of buildings in Germany with those abroad and made the comment that 'while Austria and Switzerland have produced first-class buildings, Britain has not a single new building of note' (Poeggeler/Poulsen,1962:5). A few years later, in 1966, British educators had a chance to see what the Germans had done.

The city of Manchester which was then planning its new purpose built college of adult education (a building regrettably now used for other purposes) sent over a delegation to visit some of the Volkshochschulen and they were understandably impressed. Here were buildings for the education of adults which had been designed with a great deal of thought and seemingly no expense spared. Their report, (CEMC/UM,1966), noted with approval 'the universally pleasant, inviting and home-like atmosphere' (p21) and commended the opportunities which the planners had been given:

'Furniture, furnishings and fittings had obviously been carefully selected more for their standard of design and fitness for purpose than for the fact that they merely fulfilled a purely utilitarian function adequately.' The architects had 'produced buildings which both stimulate people to study in them and, also, equally important, encourage them to take a pride in their use' (p22).

It should be said , however that the German institutions often covered a wider range of activities than the English adult education centres. One of the memorable buildings which I visited some years later was the Forum at Leverkusen, a truly magnificent construction in the centre of the town, opened in 1969, having cost 32.500.000 DM to build. It contained a special wing for adult education activities, although these took place in other rooms within the building. High quality furniture and fittings, designed with adults in mind, were evident everywhere. It had been thought that rooms hexagonal in shape would be good for discussion and communication and there were also hexagonal tables. The colourful nature of the provision contrasted sharply with some of the old drab utilitarian buildings with which I was familiar in England. One of the large rooms on the night when I visited was being used for a discussion on opera. It had an elaborate suspended ceiling, the walls consisted of greenish/grey panels with purple wooden strips running alongside; the chairs were orange. Another large room, hexagonal like the first one, had elaborate multi-coloured walls consisting of small triangular shapes and was furnished with rows of tables at which there were small comfortable armchairs.

There were many other elaborate and expensive buildings in Germany, particularly in North Rhine Westphalia, which had been put up specifically for the education of adults and although there were often varying views as to exactly how effective they were for the purposes of learning no one could be in any doubt about the prestige which adult education enjoyed. The contrast with the situation in Britain was marked. As one Principal of an English short term residential college had put it to me:

'Adult education, let's face it,' as Miss Jenny Lee said once when she was here for an Open University thing, 'adult education has a patch on its pants.'

There was little doubt that the custom made furniture and fittings and the specially designed teaching rooms which were to be found in the Volkshochschulen made it easier for adults to learn, but even those who appreciated these prestigious buildings realised that there were more important things for the creation of the right atmosphere than just the physical aspects of provision

An American teaching in Cologne was familiar with the VHS at Essen, one of the most remarkable adult education buildings that I saw during my visits. His comments were:

> Essen is ... a real glamour Volkshochschule. I haven't seen the one in Leverkusen and I guess that's even more so...I think it's nice to have a demonstration of this kind of thing, but I think still more important is in fact how well the Volkshochschule is functioning as a sort of human unit and what sort of atmosphere we create for the teachers and the pupils and what kind of atmosphere the teachers create... I have to say that personally ..I put...a much higher priority at being less interested in what the building looks like and more concerned about what is happening to all the people

Like one of the residential colleges principals, my American informant recognised the importance of 'the total experience... from when a person comes in to when they leave again,' the 'educative environment' about which Herbert Read had written.

What, however, constitutes a conducive educational environment as far as adults are concerned? What are we talking about when we refer to the 'quality' of the adult education provided in particular premises? Do we simply mean cognitive results? Does a student become more proficient at learning French in one room rather than another and how would we set about measuring and evaluating such a difference? Or are we talking in addition about affective outcomes which are also part of the educational process? Is there yet another category, perhaps to be classified as social learning? If the curriculum is to be defined as everything that takes place and includes unanticipated as well as anticipated outcomes what factors is it legitimate take into account when we consider the effect of accommodation on adult education?

When the Advisory Council research team considered some of these problems they came to the conclusion that

> It was clear that it was not going to be possible to assess in any objective manner the effect of accommodation on the quality of adult learning-to do so would require a longtitudinal study and an extremely sophisticated methodology (Percy, Saunders, Normie and Shepherd, 1982:25).

That remains the case today as I understand that not very much has happened since the appearance of the collection of papers edited by Roger Hiemstra in 1991. In the absence of detailed research of this nature speculation is what remains. The remainder of this paper is devoted to my own speculations based on the interviews and visits referred to earlier.

There seems to be evidence from my conversations that an important factor in being able to learn successfully is that the student should not feel intimidated by their surroundings. This is why old converted buildings are sometimes preferred because they are deemed to have a good welcoming

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'atmosphere'. However even surroundings which are at first slightly off-putting can be made more welcoming by a charismatic tutor as one student who had taken an extra mural class told me:

> 'We had a super tutor who is now a Professor Laurie Taylor...He did his best to make this rather, what would one say, clinical building more informal.'
> 'How did he do that?'
>
> 'He got people to bring thermos flasks and sandwiches and various other things to sort of make a break and make it less formal.'

It is sometimes not easy for those with extensive educational experience to realise just how apprehensive students can be when starting their first adult education class.

> 'Coming back to learning from being at school, I think it's a completely different atmosphere to school because school, well, when I was at school, you had to do things exactly right and if you were wrong you were put in a corner virtually, but they don't here, you are treated as an adult.'

This student had described the atmosphere at her centre as 'very friendly, very good.'

> 'What is it that makes it friendly? What makes the atmosphere?'
>
> 'Relaxed feeling of people. You don't have to be highbrow to be here, you can do your own thing and nobody points a finger them wrong. ... I come to art which I have never done before and I go to figure drawing on the Tuesday. My impression was that if you didn't get your figure right, you know, the people would say 'oh that's wrong you shouldn't do it that way,' but they don't.'
>
> 'But you thought before you came that...'
>
> 'That you would have to do it like Leonardo da Vinci, you know, it would have to be perfect.'

Another student at the same centre had much the same feelings;

> 'It's a lot friendlier than I thought and it's very pleasant because the classroom atmosphere doesn't exist, you know,.. you are not sort of regimented.'

Later on in the interview she said:

> 'It's a good feeling for everybody because they feel it's their own centre...You need a little bit of the village feeling which you do get here, you know.'

The feeling of belonging was particularly strong at a centre where the premises actually belonged to the members who had themselves raised the funds for a new extension which they had also helped to plan. They 'take more care of it...than if they are just coming into a school at night.' What seemed particularly important was the physical involvement:

> 'When we first put this building up, I organised what we called a cinder group: you know the quadrangle, well we took fifteen five-ton lorry loads of soil out of that area and cinders and sand we put down to make that quadrangle, all voluntary labour.'
>
> 'A lot of the decorating is done by the committee. You know, quite elderly people go up the ladders and paint outside and inside.'

This particular centre, now over seventy years old, was a leading member of the Educational Centres Association (ECA). This Association had started life in 1920 as the Educational Settlements Association (ESA) and changed its name in 1946. Education was seen by the Association 'as a social as well as an intellectual process, and the provision of a 'hearth and home' as essential to sound, healthy, individual and social growth' (Legge, 1982:113). In the earlier years the Association published a journal called 'Common Room' and its pages reflect the views they held about accommodation for adult education:

> 'We do not want places that are institutional: shyness and diffidence are harder to overcome there. There has to be a large homeliness about our settlements which support friendliness as well as freedom' (CR no 34).

The same issue of the Common Room made the point that unsuitable premises were not only unsatisfactory, they could be positively detrimental:

Tutors may not 'immediately realise what a room can do against them, but all of us are aware what uncomfortable seats, bad lighting, painful colouring and a general cheerlessness means.'

The comments contained in the interviews with members of the Educational Centres Association with independent premises contrasted sharply with the views of those who work or study in shared LEA premises. The National Institute of Adult Education report on *Adequacy of provision* , (NIAE, 1970), contained observations by those who were working in adult education centres and the following remarks by part-time evening institute principals give an idea of what it was like to work in premises which did not really belong to you:

> 'You always feel people are coming into a school where they are allowed to do something rather than into their own building.'
>
> 'A constant source of annoyance to the head that we are using a school after hours-barging in and making use of it. We are in the unfortunate position of being imposed lodgers.'
>
> 'No central rooms -lounge, canteen. These have an importance in that they allow a class to meet and to talk to other classes...I am all against shared use in schools. With a civilised adult education centre, adult education would come to town' (NIAE 1970).

However not everyone would consider shared use so detrimental. The Advisory Council research team were 'not convinced that, in itself, prime use accommodation makes adult education more accessible to working class or educationally disadvantaged students. Several of the prime use centres had a distinctly middle class clientele' (Percy, Saunders, Normie and Shepherd, 1982: 47).

There are differing views about several aspects of accommodation. Although the ECA feel premises must be comfortable, some students feel it can be too comfortable! I was told this by the students of one Northern Ireland Open University study centre; 'we are here to work,' they said. Similar thoughts can be found in a WEA report on 'an Ideal Adult Education Centre For Derby' (WEA, 1968:). What was 'important', the Education Centre Committee felt was that 'seating is of adult size, and of reasonable comfort, but not such as would tempt a man after a day's work to doze off too easily' (p9).

Perhaps the adult educators who are most interested in and most knowledgeable about accommodation are the Principals of Short term Residential Colleges. These institutions are peculiarly English; there is nothing quite like them even in Germany and Scandinavia and certainly not in North America. They are often situated in old country houses and most Principals believe that the very building itself is important in creating the right atmosphere for adults to learn.

The house has 'a very benevolent atmosphere', a 'friendly feel to it-the fabric itself is welcoming, saying come and live here, come and work here.'

There is more than a suggestion in what the Principals have to say that their buildings possess fortuitously a beneficial educational environment which could not be achieved by planning.

> 'The living link that your building gives you with that heritage seems somehow to permeate the whole of one's operation, to give it a fillip which I don't think, God rest them, any county architect could ever give it ... more the legacy of the past than the atmosphere of the past.'
>
> 'It's not gracious living then that you are talking about?'

'No, it's more gracious atmosphere I suppose.'

When asked what design for a new college they would advise, several principals said that they would not recommend a new building, but instead they would prefer to look for a suitable old house. They would, for example, prefer such a building to a particular purpose built residential adult education college which had been erected by a large Local Education Authority in the North West.

So is it serendipity or design which is the most important? Can we ever have sufficient information which is reasonably reliable? Apart from useful physiological and ergonomic information we are left, as noted earlier, to speculate about a variety of differing views. I feel that this field of enquiry does tell us something about adult learning, but I would be the first to concede that this is a subjective view! What makes it worthwhile to me is the occasional flash of illumination which comes from an interview; the discovery of something you might not have imagined. I still remember the conversation with a woman who was learning pottery and French, both for recreational purposes. Out of the blue she said that for pottery you needed all your concentration : 'you have to have the quiet moment in order to raise a pot.' When I asked if this was also true for French, the answer was no, 'it's not the same funnily enough.' Why was the 'quiet moment' important for pottery and not for French and what did it all mean anyway?

It is questions like this that still intrigue me.

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Going back to our roots: the role of transformatory education in the battle against social exclusion

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Introduction

In the UK, the 1990s have seen the creation and honing of government generated discourses on social exclusion and lifelong learning. To a remarkable extent these discourses are discrete. The Social Exclusion Unit's recent report 'Bringing Britain together: a national strategy for neighbourhood renewal' addresses various educational issues yet fails to include the phrase 'lifelong learning'. Government publications on lifelong learning dedicate similarly negligible space to social exclusion. The Green Paper 'The Learning Age: a renaissance for a new Britain' suggests that learning 'contributes to social cohesion and fosters a sense of belonging, responsibility and identity' and 'builds local capacity to respond to change' (Uden 1998). Yet in spite of rhetoric espousing 'joined up thinking' to 'joined up problems', the potential of adult education approaches to combatting social exclusion still has to be identified and analysed. As McNair recently observed 'we have not yet got the role of adult learning firmly enough into the minds of those shaping broader social policy as the Social Exclusion Unit's report ... demonstrates' (McNair 1999). Recently completed research which we undertook at a voluntary sector family resource centre situated in a deprived neighbourhood presents some key ideas from which educators could design initiatives grounded in familiar transformatory praxis yet innovatory in the current social exclusion context. In this paper we explore the issues affecting policy and draw on the research findings to show how community education presents a means of reconfiguring the established problem/solution welfare nexus.

Problems and solutions

The Social Exclusion Unit draws its membership from the civil service and from people with, according to the website's homepage, 'front-line experience of tacking the problems of social exclusion'. These include representatives from a range of sectors: local authorities, probation, the police and private and voluntary organisations. The Department for Education and Employment is represented. The working definition of social exclusion is: 'what can happen when individuals or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown'. Truancy, school exclusions, 16-18 year olds outside education or employment, teenage pregnancy, street living and 'deprived neighbourhoods' have been the focus of the Unit's work. The rhetoric has a different feel to that of previous governments' initiatives with similar groups: the acceptance of the long-term nature of the issues is reflected to a greater extent in the responses. Furthermore, emphasis on quantitative indicators has been combined with more imaginative and sustained qualitative perspectives.

The terminology applied to the situations is not static: for example, the original phrase 'worst estates' has been acknowledged to be stigmatising following representations from those involved and modifications made. However, just changing the terms used leaves approaches intact. Given limited resources, it is important to spend money appropriately but a question remains around the stigmatising nature of the very identification of a problem. For people who live in an area which meets particular criteria, it could be surmised that there are several possible responses ranging from relief that the situation has been appreciated by the powers-that-be to cynicism based on previous experience or on the perception that there is little chance of meaningful change. The formulation of responses to social exclusion is framed in terms of problems and solutions.

Welfare based initiatives aimed at individuals or families are comparable. Using felt measures of need, it is not unusual for social and welfare inputs to be targeted towards people who have been recognised by professionals as having a 'problem' or 'need', being 'at risk' or being 'troubled'. The aim is often 'to help people to find solutions to their own problems'. But how many people want to be told by well-paid professionals that they have a 'problem' or 'need', for example with their approach to bringing up children or managing their limited finances, even if the next stage in the process is developing a solution? It should be acknowledged that working with people to identify their problems and solutions is a positive development from previous normative measures where trained and qualified professional 'experts' defined who was 'in need', 'at risk', 'troubled' or had a problem. Experts specified the need or problem and outlined the solution. Inevitably, both the definition and solution were formulated in terms comprehended by the 'expert' and not necessarily appropriate to the individual in terms of gender, class, race, sexuality or (dis)ability. However, when designing their own solutions, people are restricted by their own knowledge and by the expert's knowledge. Professionals' use of power and patterns of practice retain an inevitable arrogance founded on the belief that they have the expertise to understand problems and ability to formulate solutions. Such an approach is specifically disempowering for clients. Currently, for example, parenthood classes are being established in an atmosphere of moral panic. Some parents with children with whom they have trouble coping believe that a class would help because they have heard that classes exist whilst others have less choice about attendance. However, classes take a banking approach, emphasising the leader's expertise, placing them in a position which validates their power. Many people employed in people-focused occupations want to 'help' their clients but this approach can prove patronising. Through leading classes, their worker's professional position and the relationship based on dependency are reinforced.

This approach shares many salient features with 'labelling perspective': people's very being is defined only in terms specific to the identified problem. Addressing the subject of deviance, Gove reminds readers of Tannenbaum's 1938 remarks:

> The person becomes the thing he (sic) is described as being... the emphasis is on the conduct that is disapproved of. The parents or the policeman, the older brother or the court, the probation officer or the juvenile institution, insofar as they rest on the thing complained of, rest upon a false ground. Their very enthusiasm defeats their aim. The harder they work to reform the evil, the greater the evil grows ... The way out is through a refusal to dramatise the evil. The less said about it the better (Gove 1980 :9).

Contemporary social interventions are formulated in a manner which has the same tendency to pathologise. The need to target resources leads to the suggestion that a 'problem' lies with the individual or the estate and that a solution comes from a change within the individual or estate. The professional is often working in terms of defined needs in order to promote welfare; a model which is associated with the threat of encouraging dependence. However, professionals' skills could be employed in the battle against social exclusion without the pathologisation of individuals and estates and without working to a 'welfaring' model. In addressing the causes and manifestations of social exclusion, it may seem surprising that 'the less said about it the better' could be an adequate - let alone positive-response. We are not proposing ignoring difficult social problems: we are proposing exploring the relevance of an alternative paradigm, familiar to adult and community educators.

Tea not tears

We were commissioned by the Save the Children Fund (SCF) to identify 'unintended outcomes' at an inner city family centre whose work it supported. Intended outcomes were thoroughly documented in terms of designated indicators but senior staff believed that there were further, additional components. Quantitative data were gathered using informal individual and group interview methods together with ongoing action research elements over a three month period. The centre's provision included activities for young people, information and advice sessions, a group for parents and toddlers, childminders' drop-in group and various courses for parents and carers: a wide range but scarcely unique for a community or family centre. The unusual addition was provision for young people excluded from school. Statistical data on the centre's users and the surrounding area showed many of the aspects identified as component ingredients of social exclusion: the existence of problems.

Our findings suggested that the centre's holistic approach to work meant that people were not seen in terms of their problems. Many agencies' staff take a holistic approach to their clientele but methods of referral and targeting identify people in terms of their difficulties rather than as whole human beings. The centre's approach drastically reconfigured the agenda. People's needs and difficulties were not necessarily on the agenda: the focus was not on the identification of problems or on addressing the causes or on working towards solutions in abstraction from the individual. The repositioning of the problem - solution discourse in a non-central position led to a model of work which was effectively focusing on people themselves. For many, the centre's provision provided a respite from the usually unremitting focus on their needs: 'It was like ... an extended family, all prepared to make you a cup of tea, mop the tears up'. This family valued you as an individual; wanted you to move on. The 'family' atmosphere was extended by uniting, in the single centre, parents and small children with young people. The limiting approach presented by 'working with people to find solutions' was replaced by a 'can-do' culture where personal development was central. Interviewees spoke of having their horizons raised, being encouraged to try different things, going on a range of courses, above all of taking the next step and seeing that they had things to offer. They showed that they had become 'subjects' rather than 'objects'; dynamic operators proactive in their own destiny despite social circumstances.

The right to respect

SCF's work has a clearly stated basis in an agenda of children's rights ('children' is identified by SCF as a portmanteau term which includes young people). The work of its founder, Eglantyne Jebb, was the direct precursor of the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. The UK's 1989 Children Act put the topic into the public arena but debate has tended to focus on child protection and to stall around issues such as physical punishment. This has limited debate on issues such as the joined up statistics which show the negative impact on children and young people of adults' poverty and, for young people in particular, the right to reject cherished beliefs.

The centre's value base was grounded in the rights agenda yet, during our research, the word 'rights' was little heard except from management. The term in regular use by the majority of interviewees was 'respect'. The translation of a theoretical emphasis on people's rights into practice can result in an approach which is condescending or patronising. However, such an outcome is one where respect is absent. 'Respect' has a range of meanings from showing people courtesy and valuing them to expecting deference or inculcating awe or dread. For many people, the 'street' interpretation with its roots in African Caribbean usage is closest to what they seek in their relationships and which is important in establishing a centre as a place they wish to be. The ingredients include an honesty in valuing people which means they know that they are hearing the truth: an approach which is without dissimulation, which feels real rather than assumed or false. At the centre interviewees felt listened to; their opinions and experiences were important. Professional responses to users presented models of good practice which were significant in terms of transformation. For the school non-attenders, the issue of the respect they experienced from professionals was central. They explained that, at school, respect was a one-way matter where teachers expected it but offered none in return. The respect they sought took the form of having their views, ideas and experiences listened to, not being ignored and being trusted. In return for respect and trust, people shared ownership and responsibility.

The centre's norms were a successful fusion for the interviewees, predominantly drawn from communities with their origins in Ireland and the West Indies but could be less acceptable to other groups. Where a culture values a more formal code of respect or expects professionals both to deserve and expect that their status will be recognised, the model could prove less satisfactory. The way in which informality, such as the use of first names, removes barriers for some people may present unacceptable and insurmountable barriers for others. This presents a further challenge when seeking to design alternatives to the professionally constructed problem - solution paradigm or introducing approaches based on concepts of transformatory education.

A central approach?

The gathering of provision within community premises makes economic sense. However, cultural differences and expectations limit the success which a single centre can have within a neighbourhood comprising many communities. Respect is not only culturally constructed but also extends beyond the individual to the group(s) with which individuals identify. Linking fundamental aspects of respect with rights, Downie emphasises the ultimate value of the human being, that 'persons' are 'alike in being ends in themselves' and that they are 'entitled to a minimum equality of consideration' (Downie 1971: 53). Banks incorporates the social work context and explores typical lists of users' rights which start with the right 'to be treated as an end' (Banks 1995 :96). Historically, however, 'persons' tended to be white, middle-class, heterosexual men: the apparent objectivity of the phrase 'respect for persons' is spurious. Our research uncovered a model which was distinctively different from the one which has been translated into clients' charters in welfare agencies because it was built on a humanist position rooted in moral philosophy in the context of an understanding of cultural difference. Whereas social welfare agencies build their work on the concept of respect for all persons, the centre's alternative paradigm included the concept of respect for the group(s) with whom people identified and with the shared and common ground. Such groupings included not only gender, race, sexuality and other core parts of one's being but also a wide range of aspects of current experience and life history. The naming of the groups of which one feels a part is also a facet of transformatory education through which one moves beyond being defined as, for example, somebody's mother to being defined in your own right, incorporating group identifications identified for oneself. The formula of 'accepting individuals as ends in themselves' is inadequate. Whilst some people may feel included, the lack of inclusion of the group context will result in other people feeling excluded. When dealing with social exclusion, the inclusion of the group dimension is important. Difference and diversity need to be celebrated as vital components of the respect which people need, want, crave - and to which they have a right.

Lifelong learning: a space for us?

In governmental reports, 'lifelong learning' has assumed a primarily vocational and training function. Payne notes its 'very clear and precise orientation in the economic' (Payne 1999). Defined around offering training orientated solutions to employment problems, it offers a further example of a discourse formulated within the problem / solution paradigm. Although Payne identifies several alternative models, these are secondary in influence: the predominant properties are domesticating. Furthermore, the 'learning age' hypothesised in the Green Paper appears to have pathologising tendencies: people and communities are seen as needing to respond to change, not to bring it about for themselves.

As many adult educators have shown, education has the potential to equip people to engender change (see, for example, Lovett, Clarke and Kilmurray 1983). Currently, it appears that education's role in regeneration may be limited to accessing vocational training. For many living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, education has already failed to deliver the illusory promise of a job and income. Instead, it is associated in people's minds with failure. For some, exclusion from school provides an early experience of exclusion from society. Ironically, limited basic skills serve to exclude people from influencing the regeneration process. Large scale public investment in an area could be a critical moment, as local residents realise that their ability to influence what is happening depends crucially on their ability to express themselves, to understand budgets and to enter into dialogue with other people in their own community, elected politicians and professionals. However to seize this particular moment requires a number of thing. First, local schools need to see themselves as part of the community and as gateways to a wide range of other services. Secondly, educators need to relate to the cultures of those they serve, identifying strengths rather than weaknesses. Thirdly, educational programmes are needed which identify and meet short-term goals, like the ability to organise a community group or get your point across in a public meeting, and build on successes like these to tackle educational under-achievement.

This is very different from the predominant model of contemporary adult education and the vocationalism of NVQs. The FHE Act resulted in the fracturing of the continuum of 'cradle to grave' community education services which included adult education, community work and youth work. Youth work's presence is not implied within the phrase 'lifelong learning'. The ghost of a shared value base remains in the decision to name the sectoral National Training Organisation for adult education, community work, youth work and their Scottish equivalents PAOLO but, for many, the significance of the presence within the grouping of youth work is unclear. In fact, the shared epistemological territory has been identified and explored in previous SCUTREA papers (for example, Jarvis and Notley 1996, Jones 1996). However, youth work is not only located within an educational paradigm. The occupation is divided between those for whom it is built on the foundation of informal education and those who place it within a welfare paradigm. In support of the first, the definition which emerged from the ministerial conferences of the early 1990s stated:

> The purpose of youth work is to redress all forms of inequality and to ensure equality of opportunity for all young people to fulfill their potential as empowered individuals and members of groups and communities and to support young people during the transition to adulthood (Wylie 1997: 51).

For successful collaboration which impacts on a holistically defined model of lifelong learning and develops truly innovative reflective practice, occupations gathered under the PAOLO umbrella need an expressed fundamental shared value-base as robust as that quoted above.

After years of increasing vocationalism, the opportunity clearly exists for educators to show how liberatory education grounded in Freirean principles has potential in working with people deemed socially excluded. At the time of writing, local authorities are being required to produce lifelong learning plans and partnerships. It is pertinent to establish transformatory education as having a significant role both in challenging the dominant paradigm and making a contribution to working with people and neighbourhoods defined as socially excluded. To adult educators, the impact of liberatory approaches is familiar ground. However education's role in addressing inequalities has not been demonstrated to the architects of social policy whose current problematising approach to social exclusion domesticates. If educators fail to communicate their understandings, presumably they have lined up with oppressors. To revisit Freire's work is to be reminded that educators' responsibilities lie with those labelled as socially excluded:

> Political action on the side of the oppressed must be pedagogical action in the authentic sense of the word, hence, action *with* the oppressed. Those who work for liberation must not take advantage of the emotional dependence of the oppressed - dependence that is the fruit of the concrete situation of domination which surrounds them and which engendered their unauthentic view of the world. Using their dependence to create still greater dependence is an oppressor tactic (Freire 1972: 42).

Educators need to think themselves into the minds of agencies involved in social regeneration and *sell* what they do. Opportunities actually exist to explore transformatory approaches to adult education in local communities.

Conclusion

Freire identified the fact that to attempt to be neutral in the conflict between the powerful and powerless is tantamount to siding with the powerful. Our research suggested that liberatory education provides an excitingly different way ahead which builds on these concepts in the battle against social exclusion. Radical approaches to adult education share with educationally focused youth work the potential to get into community contexts, into the available spaces emerging from the FHE Act fallout. The liberatory, transformatory educational paradigm has the potential to oppose social exclusion from an alternative angle which does not pathologise or have social inclusion as its aim. Its distinctively different approach refuses to 'dramatise the evil'.

Government calls for greater levels of democracy, inter-agency, inter-disciplinary responses will mean little to people who are experiencing social exclusion unless community educators seize the moment. There is potential for us to operate where innovatory and challenging practice are feasible. Those of us located in higher education institutions are well placed to engage in action research projects located in the context of current social developments and, through the emphasis on change, have a significant impact on the issue of social exclusion.

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Men on the margins: towards an account of men's experience of adult education

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Introduction

This paper, like my session, will be deliberately exploratory. It is designed to stimulate discussion about an area of adult education which appears to me under-researched and under- theorised and into which I am interested in formulating and carrying out more substantive field-based research at a later date. The area of concern is men and masculinities. This is a topic which has attracted considerable interest from education providers and policy makers, in both the compulsory and post-compulsory sectors, over the past few years.

As a lesbian socialist-feminist who for many years worked exclusively in women's education the growth of interest in whether and how men participate in adult education is something I have viewed with some ambivalence. This is partly reflected in my title, which flags up the issue of men's marginal relation to adult education but also suggests the marginality, as social practice and discourse, of adult education itself. This paper represents a preliminary attempt to critically reflect upon the nature and source of my ambivalence towards what I think of as the problem of the problem of men. The debate about men in adult education has tended to be framed in terms of their non-participation, crystallised in the title of Veronica McGivney's recent critical survey, *Excluded Men*. Valuable as this work has been, I argue that it does not provide an adequate account of what is a complex, and still contested issue.

Engaging critically with men and masculinity in adult education means understanding adult education as a gendered practice. This requires us to consider men's presence, in relational and situational terms, as well as their absence and to specify the exact ways in which men are and are not marginal to its work. It also requires us to consider whether or not men's absence is the result of exclusion or election, in other words how is adult education structured by the differentials in social power which exist more generally between men and women. I have found that the complex and critical theories of gender developed and applied in other disciplines, notably cultural studies and sociology, provide a useful framework through which to deepen our understanding of men and masculinities in adult education.

Towards men's education

While it is true that statistics can be massaged, pruned and doctored in all manner of ways, one of the peculiarities of the problem of men's participation in education is that it is only in a minority of contexts that they are under-represented or under-achieving. As Veronica McGivney points out, 'men are, as a whole, more highly qualified than women.' (McGivney 1999:27) More women than men have no qualifications (21% compared with 16%) and more men than women have qualifications at NVQ levels 3, 4 and 5. That 26% of women, compared with 16% of men, have Level 1 qualifications, needs to be understood in this overall context of gender relations and educational participation and achievement. This is also true of other education statistics, for example the way that increased participation rates for women in higher education muffle women's concentration in first degrees rather than research, in part- time rather than full-time modes of study, in certain, traditionally female, subject areas - a feature even more distinctive in further education - and the disproportionate career progression within education still experienced by women as compared to men.

The issue of men's participation in post-compulsory education, as McGivney makes clear, focuses on a particular sort of man, and his involvement in a particular sort of educational provision. The missing men, who may fall distinctively into a younger or older age group, are those with low basic skills, little or no qualifications and skills who have, or are experiencing, chronic unemployment often accompanied by offending or anti-social behaviour of various kinds. This is an important consideration, and certainly helps to explain why those missing women from the same social position as the missing men - who share with them the same low levels of participation and aspiration - are not perceived as a problem in the same way. These women, on the whole, do not abandon their parental responsibilities lightly and make up only a small fraction of the crime statistics. There are also enough of them actively participating in the community-based and informal educational activities from which men are so noticeably absent for this, perversely, to sometimes be seen as a problem. Such education is designed to contribute to community-building and social regeneration as much as to provide individual access to and progression through further and higher education.

This location immediately sets in train practical and ideological conflicts between education as an agent of social control and empowerment. McGivney takes issue with Chris Woodhead's singling out for particular concern the educational attainment of white working-class boys in schools, when the position for Afro-Caribbean boys is much worse, yet she notes in passing that women with the same characteristics as her missing men are also under-represented in education and training. (McGivney 1999:23)

To focus on the men, as she does, illustrates both her responsiveness to a change in the field, as many projects have set out specifically to involve men, and the ideological frame within which this happens. Whereas forms of provision for women in community education were often aligned to a radical agenda for social change which also challenged traditional gender roles and relations, the new interventions in men's education tend, at best, to confirm traditional gender roles for men. At their worst, they are symptomatic of a moral panic about men's social and familial roles and responsibilities. The Men's Family Learning Project, funded by the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE) for Bristol's Community Education Service provides both a good illustration of the complexity surrounding whether men perceive adult education as something they can, should or would want to get involved with.

At the time it was launched, in 1998, the project workers were unable to identify other similar projects. However, there definitely were other projects either already in existence or forming at the same time as Veronica McGivney's account makes clear. (McGivney 1999) She provides brief accounts of upwards of 30 education or training initiatives targeted towards men, often specifically catering for 'Dads and Lads' as Waltham Forest Adult Education Service terms them. The Workers' Educational Association (WEA) in Northern District had run, without a great deal of success, return to study courses for men from the early 1990s and, it has to be said, a great deal of trade union education has by default been single-sex provision. This aside, the Bristol project was breaking new ground and to do so it borrowed several methods and approaches from community and women's education. So, for example, networks and informal contacts were utilised to contact men, a negotiated curriculum formed the basis of the educational work and tutors for these programmes of work were specifically recruited and trained. Considerable emphasis was put on developing positive role models, both for the men who got involved and the impact on the children they worked. The project report links many of the positive outcomes from the project to the kind of man they were able to appoint as development worker.

> A local dad ... able to encourage men to get involved by talking about his own experience of volunteering in the local nursery school, stressing the personal benefits and offering a positive role model for other men (Bryant 1998:10).

This emphasis on role models, which is a powerful element in the whole discourse about men and parenting as well as within education, is something which distinguishes this work from feminist interventions. There, role models were important too, but they tended to be linked to the reclaiming of women's place and voice in history. They were rarely or, given the distrust of competition and the 'star' system within the early women's liberation movement, rarely overtly the actual women teaching and providing the courses. Men, as a distinct social group, are not symmetrical with women and it is difficult to imagine them reclaiming a history in this way unless it cuts through and reclaims another layer of experience rooted in oppression, as has been the case with black men in America. But even there it is not straightforward, as Patricia J. Williams suggests.

> Today's authors are busy fanning the flames of a wistful ambivalence about how to make the world better for black men, an angst that has grown to a directed anxiety verging on obsession with compensatory fatherhood. This rush, this compulsive drive to romanticize parental authority, is a quite different enterprise than just appreciating fatherhood. On one hand, it is clearly a move to counter the wild, Willie Horton, seed-spewing stereotypes that so flood the media. It is also a move that has eliminated from public view much of the real-life presence of men, particularly black men, in its nostalgic yearning for the Dick-and-Jane nuclear family if the fictionalized past (Williams 1996: 815-817).

A further area of asymmetry is the conventional nature of the courses provided by the men for the pupils as part of family learning - woodwork and bricklaying - plus a computer course for the men. Men, the report suggests, will get involved in family learning projects if it appeals to their interests. However, before stepping in to condemn the conservative nature of this approach it is salutary to remember that community and women's education has been dogged by related debates, first about whether its radical agenda is appropriate to the settings in which the work takes place and second, if such a radical agenda is desirable, whether it should be approached covertly or not.(Smith 1994, Taking Liberties Collective 1989) It is also important to note an area of overlap between men's and women's education, namely the degree to which low confidence and self-esteem prevented many men, just as it prevents many women, from putting themselves forward for family learning schemes which will benefit them and their children.

Clearly, the Bristol Project had several positive and important outcomes but it also begs several questions, some specific to that project and others like it, some of a more general order. Such questions would form the basis of a more critical evaluative study which looked not just at discrete projects but at the wider context in which they were taking place. They include gathering and analysing more qualitative, ethnographic data from the men who took part to establish what had enabled their participation at that point as well as what had previously kept them away;, tracking the men, and the projects, to see who stayed involved and how and whether there were lasting changes, and of what kind, to the projects; and engaging the providers and participants in a discussion about some of the wider - and more problematic - aspects of contemporary masculine identity, such as violence, depression and sexuality, as well as finding ways to track and evaluate these interventions in respect of their impact upon gender relations, and the material experience of women as well as men, in the settings in which they took place.

Where I came in

My interest in these question of men, masculinity and adult education was prompted by a number of discrete experiences. The first was co-tutoring a module on gender for a Masters in Education programme and realising how hard it was both for myself and the students to see gender as something which included men's, as well as women's, experience even when we were working with a model, and theories of, gender relations and socialisation. Second was the flurry of new opportunities and return to learning courses targeted specifically towards men that appeared in my locality during the 1990s.

These were provided by the Worker's Educational Association, a Further Education College and the local authority and were sometimes funded with European money which allowed them to advertise widely, including in the local newspaper, and to offer payment towards travel and subsistence as well as fee waivers. This was in marked contrast to similar provision for women.

Third, although work on masculinity had begun in the early 1970s (Tolson 1977) it came to prominence throughout the late 1980s and 1990s both in my subject discipline, cultural studies, in gender studies and in sociology and psychology. This work challenged the monolithic and unitary notions of masculinity which had tended to inform work on sex/gender which took the experience of girls and women as their focus. It did so in three ways. First, through specific analysis of sites of the formation of masculine identities, such as school, leisure and youth sub- cultures. (Connell 1987 and 1989, Mac An Ghaill (1994) Messner and Sabo (1990) Willis 1977, 1990) Second, through specific work on transgressive and subordinate sexual identities and practices, most often homosexuality but also looking at the specific form of working-class and black masculinities. (Dollimore 1991, Gilroy 1993, Hall 1992, Marriott 1996, Mercer and Julian 1988, Sinfield 1994, Watney 1993, Weeks 1981 and 1989) Third, through theoretical work which developed a more complex understanding of patriarchy, as a set of lived relations with public and private dimensions. This enabled the concept of hegemonic masculinity to be simultaneously invoked and de-centred as part of the argument for plural and diverse ways of being and becoming a man, in other words masculinities rather than masculinity (Brod and Kauffman 1994, Clatterbaugh 1990, Hearn 1992, Hearn and Morgan 1990, Segal 1990). Towards the end of this period, as the discourse of education became cluttered with targets, standards and attainment, the popular and educational press began to name the problem of boy's educational underachievement and link this to the feminisation of education in general and English in particular (QCA1998) and to the rise in number of female single-parent families.

Together this formed a general background of which I was aware but relatively unconcerned by. What brought this to the fore for me was a number of issues and challenges which arose in my own teaching and led me to think, possibly for the first time, about how men experienced the educational experience I was providing for them. What happened was this. I was teaching two groups, one literature, the other life story writing, of roughly the same size in which men were the minority in a ratio of 1:4. In the life story group one man was extremely disconcerted about being in a minority, worked very hard to draw the other men into a sub-set by, for example, taking coffee together and choosing them as partners for small group. He also often criticised the exercises I introduced for the group on the grounds that they were biased towards women. He tended to frame his comments on other student's work within sex-gender stereotypes, inviting me and other students to affirm that things were typically male or female (and sometimes getting upset when we didn't do this) or mis-perceiving activities in terms of their gender-bias. For example, when students were asked to bring in an autobiography to read from and discuss he commented that they had all been by women except his own whereas 8 out of the 17 authors had been male.

In the other group, the men worked in mixed groups (although they respected the wishes of 4 women who wanted just to work with each other) and displayed far less anxiety about their minority status. All the men in both groups, bar one, were of a similar age and class background. Women's historical experience and oppression formed part of the second group's themed work, which generated discussion and debate but lacked the defensiveness of the first group. For example, we compared the film and book versions of *The English Patient* which led one man to talk ruefully about dismissing it as a 'women's' film when he saw it with his wife and the pleasure he had gained from being forced to reconsider this opinion in the class.

Clearly, I was demonstrating-in-use (to bend Boud's concept, Boud 1985:3) the truth of current theoretical work on masculinity which insists upon the complexity of its lived experience as 'part of the general deconstruction of the unified, rational and transcendent subject of men.' (Collinson and Hearn 1996:73)

And, as a counterpoint to this, was my most recent experience of teaching a designated women-only class where the men were not only missing but missed by women who felt cheated by their absence. Such discussions, which revolved around wanting the men's experience, seriousness and viewpoint (and were always contested, usually by women with experience of mixed groups who were confident that men would at best inhibit and at worst dominate the direction, physical and intellectual space of the group) may have been a silenced discourse in other women-only teaching that I have done but I felt that its appearance in the late 1990s was linked to this broader cultural concern with excluded men.

Where am I now?

Just as curious about the whole focus on men's participation as I was at the outset of my journey around the subject and concerned that, with very few exceptions, the exciting work being done on men and masculinity in critical theory and cultural studies has not yet been brought to bear in an analysis of adult education. Lyn Tett's excellent manifesto for practitioners in single-sex work to develop a theoretical take on their practice sums up my feelings exactly. She talks about the need to avoid simplistic notions of responding to the needs of men/women and urges practitioners to identify 'which men/women; in which context; and for what purpose' (Tett 1996:63) as a means of engaging with their own and others' lived experience. Veronica McGivney's work provides a thorough and comprehensive account of the policy framework within which work specifically directed towards men in post-compulsory education has developed. The next step is to look at the problem of the problem of men with and for those - men and women - for whom the problem bites, at the level of practice and lived experience, and to do so through the rich possibilities for listening and talking which the life history method offers.

The conference session will involve two practical activities: a gender audit and devising some sample life history questions and approaches.

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Lifelong Learning and Collective Experience

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Lifelong Learning in a New Dress

Once upon a time adult education was associated with political and idealistic struggle - now it seems to be accepted mainstream. Adult Education and lifelong learning have become political answers to most of the essential structural problems of the late modern capitalist industrial society - economically, socially and culturally. The idealistic, wishful thinking, that has for 3-4 decades been slowly worn down by the absence of practical implementation, now seems to be promoted by power elites in the capitalist world.

May be it is time to 're-charge' the critical and democratic meaning of the concept? In attempting to do so from within a critical theory position, I also hope to enter into a clarifying dialogue with post modernists, who also orient themselves to lifelong learning for seemingly different reasons.

Lifelong learning has gained new vitality in a new context, as the key concept for socio-economic needs for mobilizing and adapting human resources, though work, economic growth and competition (Rubenson, 1996). The reasons for this approach are because of economic competitiveness, whether on national or on continental level (Europe versus North America versus Asia).

It may seem ironic, but it is also logical: The economy and work need human resources, and the fact that upskilling demands subjective involvement make lifelong learning *a societal programme*. The change in the rationales, and the fact that they are still separate, can be seen as characteristics of the role of education in the modernization process. On the one side a vehicle of a humanistic political programme for social autonomy and 'empowerment', and on the other side a necessary adaptation of human beings to their part as 'commodity labour'. So the new framework of discussing Lifelong Learning seems necessarily also to be a discussion of the basic education ideas of modernization.

Lifelong Learning is a Critique of Institutions

Lifelong learning was originally launched as a democratic and humanistic project, closely connected with ideas about equality. It was in it self a part of an enlightenment optimism on behalf of education. Instead of education being once for a life time the early creators of the idea assigned a permanent and open access to education and learning as a democratizing and liberating force. In an international context in particular this idea of general and political education was endorsed idealistically. At national levels in most countries this policy programme was not regarded to be very committing, and was mainly taken into account by NGOs. However, as a discourse of education, lifelong learning has a radical built-in assumption, which is also confirmed by recent economic concerns it assumes that learning takes place in all spheres of life, not only in schools and institutions. Sometimes it is added into 'lifelong'....and life wide ....'learning', to complete the topical metaphor. It thus relativizes the importance of schools and compulsory education, on one side emphasizing the limits of the modern disembeddedness of learning from basic social structures, while on the other side also opening our eyes to an immense potential of self-directed learning outside schools. In adult and continuing education there seems to be at the same time two converging processes going on: an institutionalising process, adding schools for adults to the schools for children and adolescents, which is in continuation of a basic trend in modernization namely institution building. And at the same time a de-institutionalising process, broadening the concept of learning across the boundaries of school.

The concept of lifelong learning itself, emphasising *learning* instead of institutional education, transcends the institutional rationales of modernization. This emphasis on learning rather than education has lately been seen as an educational drawback - and sometimes it is also part of a neo-conservative dismantling of welfare policies. But it may also be integrated into a critique of the illusionary expectations that are put on institutional education, in terms of efficiency and in terms of their emancipation potential.

This criticism of institutions makes clear that the existing educational institutions are unable or inadequate to fulfil their purpose and promises; rather they might be an obstacle to learning. The postmodernist critique of the educational optimism takes the critique one step more in a radical direction, as a critique of the basic humanist educational programme. A critic of institutions par excellence, Michel Foucault, points out the inner relation between institutions, knowledge and power. Educational institutions, by means of knowledge exercise control and restriction on the potential experience of the protagonists, allowing for some ways of organising of knowledge and blocking others. The term discourse in this context has the critical implication that all organised knowledge and communication excludes essential levels of knowledge related to practices and bodily experience and reproduces power relations.

Foucault universalises the experience, that modernization processes have largely discredited knowledge in spite of the fact that modern ideas assign to knowledge the expectation of enlightenment, emancipation and autonomy. But what is the relation between this critique of the modernization and enlightenment processes, or rather the construction of the reverse side of the utopian message that lifelong learning will take place everywhere, and through the entire life period? When (educational) institutions are overcome or at least relativized, which structuring factors for learning appear instead?

I believe all possible ideological answers tend to float into this 'vacuum'. Sometimes regression into naive versions of experiential learning, assuming that reality is again becoming an un-mediated schoolteacher or to some kinds of cultural traditionalism. Sometimes to humanistic educational ideas, that are not basically different from those inherent in the educational institutions - only now they are attached to the individual and extended to all spheres and phases of life. At best these reductions serve as a take off reference for rethinking the basic content of lifelong learning idea, reflecting the contradictions in the modernization process that have brought forward the idea. This we shall at least attempt.

The Humanization of Work and Human Resource Development

It was stated above that the socio-economic need for human resources, and the insufficiency of educational provision, was a decisive condition for the present concern with lifelong learning. But is this a true societal programme, a civilizing force? What happens when learning is 're-embedded' in real life, such as working life?

You could begin with the optimistic question of Kern/Schumann in 1984: *Ende der Arbeitsteilung?* Even using a concept of skilling informed by industrial sociology Kern and Schumann by empirical evidence made plausible that the human potentials of labour were becoming decisive, demanded by capitalist reorganization of industrial development. The subordination of labour to skills needs implied not only the more generalized skills and knowledge, but the demand for subjective qualities more than anything else. Even industrial workers must be co-operative, responsible, creative and autonomous.

In the discussions co-op of the 70s neo-Marxist ideas in Danish critical education, the research concept of skills-related education to the production of societal labour force (Andersen et al 1992, Salling Olesen 1996). The term was coined in a double manner - as a term of critical/Marxian theory and as a term of empirical industrial sociology. Education produces a societally objectified exchangeable asset based on the use value of labour in a capitalist (re)production, and from this follows a functional subordination of the learning processes in educational institutions to the necessities of producing the commodity labour. The seemingly new quality of labour and its contradictory demand on human labour was called 'general qualification' - more or less equivalent to the German term 'key competence', 'Schlüsselqualifikation' - whereas I have the feeling that 'Qualification' has a somewhat more limited meaning, and a technocratic flavour, in English.

In the classic era of industrialism you would name the masculine bodily oriented and collectively controlled wage labour socialisation and consciousness as the 'general qualification'. The British cultural sociology, the 'anti psychiatry', and Vesters' great historical study have accounted differently for the historical creation of the subjectivity of wage labour - and it is useful to make clear that work socialization has a specific shape of subjectivity involved - historically shaped, distorted may be, but also involving products of learning processes - new skills, new social insights, new levels of self regulation - as compared with the previous historical phases. It was the product of a lifelong learning process (Salling Olesen (1998), Vester (1972)).

Several other structural trends have reinforced the assumption about the inclining importance of general qualification - and on the other side a critical analysis which seriously questions the optimistic implications in the trend - both new modes of social control and new marginalizations make the changes in work quality more dubious. Is the qualitative change of the work process and the new demands/options for 'humanization' and subjective involvement the end of the alienation (Entfremdung) of work? Is 'general qualification' a take off ramp for 'the living work' to reintegrate and take control over the societal organisation of life processes?

It may be a good question, even if it is foolish to offer an answer. It may be a good question because it calls for new ways of at least dealing with it theoretically.

The concept of 'qualification' was a contribution to a critical theory of education and work and also a critique of the (idealistic) educational thought and of progressive educational practice (reform pedagogy, humanistic enlightenment), explaining the structure and function of education which is independent of and which may also invisible for the educational actors. But it ruled out the question of educational practice, and even more importantly in this context, it paid little attention to the contradictory concrete production process of the 'use value', the living worker and the living work. But there is no clear alternative conception of subjectivity in education and learning in this original neo-Marxian analysis - just because the old communist and social democrat voluntarisms had been stripped away.

In the discourse of human resource development lifelong learning is integrated in ideas like 'organisational learning' and 'workplace based learning', which refer to an organisation culture framework. Most often these concepts link lifelong learning to more or less narrow management strategies, which are able to and willing to establish compromises with more or less narrow individual concepts of the social interests of workers/employees. The consequence is 'divide-et-impere' and the cultivation of corporate spirit. Apart from the political consequences which I will discuss shortly, this is a somewhat ambiguous development. Workplace identification and corporate spirit may very well support learning processes that would otherwise - for example in a traditional educational setting - not be possible. In so far as we also find examples where unskilled workers, sceptical with education, become active learners within a workplace embedded process. But in so far as work qualification is rooted in collective habitual experiences and in collective consciousness connected with workers' collective and a craft or professional identity, they are excluded from the learning process.

Even from a managerial point of view this may present a problem with the change processes in craft based industries (resistance of workers, loss of habitual and tacit knowledge) and in professions (resistance, dequalification, loss of quality standards). However, this is not really theoretically reflected. In the very extensive discussion and practice of organisational development, human resource development and organisational learning you find very primitive or non-existing ideas about the relation between the collective and organisational processes, and the learning processes of individuals. In the consultancy business and amongst human resource managers, personal development, career advisors etc you find some practical experience and rules-of-thumb, but little analytical interest and knowledge.

To the extent that lifelong learning is promoted and taken over by corporate programmes and human resource managers in connection with workplaces, it may cause a devastation of professionalism on learning. I am not arguing here, because I think I present the shared prejudices of educationalists.

This takes us to the more important aspect, and more political, I think: what is the alternative view on lifelong learning? The re-embedding of learning into work life may be very restricted in the sense that only some aspects of learning are called for, and only some aspects of learners' potential are activated. It may be a reinforcement of the general disaster of modernization: that the technical and instrumental development is pushed forwards once more, by an enhanced mobilization of human resources, but the other side, the civilizing and enlightening one is repressed. The hopes for an automatic humanization effect of the new types of work organization, and the consequent needs for learning need to be developed.

The 're-subjectivation' of work, however, is not just congruent with humanistic ideas of education and subjectivity - although some seem to assume so. It is not a return from the industrial shaping of man in some generations to an original humanity. Basic humanity has just within the period of industrial development changed radically. Children' s social, intellectual and emotional capacities are others than before, and the adult workers carry a history of collective experience - more or less consciously - as a base of all their aspects of work identity. The resubjectivation of work does not mean 'taking work back to its original subjective quality' - it means inviting/demanding and allowing new forms of co-operation and/or new types of autonomy, which can be developed in relation to the social and societal context of work and technology today.

So the new human resource development agenda implies the need for *a politicization of work*, remembering the Greek meaning of the word: making it an object of cultural action. The perspectives on lifelong learning depend upon collective experience building, that can encompass and develop the potentials in new work qualities without loosing sight of previous work identities.

Lifelong Learning and Invidualization

The critique of the institutional solutions of modernity is also questioning the underlying emancipation strategies of for example the labour movement and the social democratic welfare state. The ground of a collective experience seems devaluatued, at the same time as the individual becomes the subject of his own liberation

This goes hand in hand with the broader observation of a cultural shift in the core cultures of the modernizing project, from social solidarity and collectivity, to individual orientations and emancipation strategies, accompanied by a multiplication in values and life strategies (U. Beck and others). In the sociological discussion there are both theoretical arguments and empirical evidence that people develop new life strategies and attitudes, less oriented to welfare state solutions, social institutions, and collective values. So the question - ahistorically - comes up: is this a swing back of the pendulum to an early liberal and individualistic conception of modernity?

There are, however, also arguments that this shift in attitudes is not in the direction of less solidarity, but in the direction of a new form of solidarity (e.g. 'Everyday Life Solidarity - Zoll 1988, Zoll et al (1989). What is true is not only an empirical question, nor a question about theoretical interpretation - it still depends.....On what? On what is learned in lifelong learning, and how future learning processes relate to the experience of modernity.

I see these processes of reshaping solidarity as a product of modernization, but also as a modernization process still taking place. It provides new challenges and chances for adult learning, which have yet to be developed and concretised by the protagonists themselves. Adult and continuing education may certainly be a remedy in crisis management of a capitalist economy and the national states - not sufficient but necessary. But it may also encompass the utopian potentials of the modernization project. My point is that modernity is not a homogenous and well defined 'epoch in history'. It is a process still in its becoming.

The end of modernity, the individualisation and the enhanced individual cultural expressions, are often neo-conservative - sometimes also a critical - condensations of some grounded observations of changes in culture and society. They are, however, changes that may well be seen as strictly modern phenomena. Giddens speaks of radical modernity (1990). I would like to speak about 'late' or 'developed modernity', meaning something more than a phase or a degree, but underscoring the processual character:

It is a **societally developed modernity** in the sense, that in involves most/all individuals in modern life conditions. The modernist poet of 1913 (Ulysses) was a vanguard protagonist and critic of modernity. Today it is difficult to imagine a better example for a vanguard than the modern female workers, who have to cope with their (new) wage labour and their gendered experience of a split everyday life world. The combined process of gender emancipation and societalisation of work make women into subjects in a societal sense, but the process is only in its fulfilment by the fact that they do it. You might also call it a democratization of modernity.

And **modernisation is a subjective acquisition**: to be subjects in a modernised world is something we have to learn. One may think of the dilemmas of the labour movement. The labour movement - itself a product of modernity - developed a solidarity culture with strong premodern communitarian qualities, linked to societal concepts of interest and a national state oriented concept of politics. This solidarity culture, which constitutes its subjective quality and inner coherence, is now being eroded by the modernized life world and values of the membership - including the relative growth of a ' wage labour middle class'.

Lifelong learning as a concept refers to the life history context of learning. However, if you see lifelong learning as the late modern version of the classic modern idea about 'Bildung' you must first deconstruct its historical identification with basic school education, and reflect the changes in society and culture - and the collective experience from the modernization process.

But it does imply an individual lifelong experience process, doing all the collective experiences on your own. 'Key qualifications' are a dynamic and historical understanding of the life conditions of this late modernity (biographicity, contingency, etc) and a capacity to handle it individually, tolerance to uncertainty and to ambivalences. So lifelong learning implies - besides a critique of the institutional enlightenment idea of modernization - a new politics of learning in essential spheres of everyday life.

When we study subjective learning stories of adults and their subjective relation to learning we find it taking place. Beside 'training' for work, 'education' for citizenship, and leisure 'activity', we find 'hybrid' learning processes, that unite separate life spheres and motivation domains, and go across institutional functions of education in the capitalist modernization. They are motivated and informed by the life history of the participants, and the subjective meaning transcends the boundaries between the life spheres of capitalist modernity, for example. qualification for work, learning as leisure culture and personal/political learning.

But what about the collectivization of this common, individual experience? The opportunity for the labour movement is the development of a new organisation and political culture, that can encompass new individualized life styles, an independent membership expecting democratic organizations, and new types of 'enlightened solidarity'. In this context it means taking responsibilities beyond your own everyday life, without a traditional or top-down definition of this responsibility. I have difficulty in seeing a more important context for building a collective experience from below. But it is not alone - the cultural shifts have opened other fora like new social movements etc.

The Subject of Lifelong Learning

Lifelong learning seems to be a meeting point between some apparently different critical traditions, which share a broader perspective on education - seeing education and learning in a context of societal and cultural historical development. From a European perspective it seems especially interesting to compare my own background in critical theory - rooted in German tradition - and the approaches attached to post modernism in the Anglo-Saxon context, partly inspired by French critical theory. I have taken some inspiration in comparing the ideas of Oskar Negt - whose work I know well - with those of Michel Foucault, whom I identify as a primary theoretical inspiration in the post modernist traditions on the other side. Both deal with the close interrelation between social institution, knowledge, and power, basically emphasising the repressive aspects of social structures and social discourses. Both relate bodily based understanding of repression and emancipation to these social processes. Both have inspired critical thought in education, but into quite different traditions. Are they alternative approaches? Or may be alternative theoretical approaches, taking us to a similar educational discourse?

Both traditions, more or less, systematically refer to lifelong learning. Lifelong learning seems to be the explicitly acceptable framework for critical thinking, which on the one hand wants to free education of the institutional and ideological optimism invested in schools, pedagogy and educational policies, and on the other see a decentred, open end learning process as an essential field of political reflection.

The post modernist view apparently puts more emphasis on the ever-changing individual acquisition of new life conditions, life as one long learning process. This is not alien to critical theory, but Negt would pay more attention the basic conditions of socialisation, the basic production of human subjectivity as a capacity to define yourself in an active emotional and cognitive acquisition process. Subjectivity as a 'means of production' for late modern/post modernist life. This difference seems to refer to the question of subjectivity and the production of subjectivity. Is it right within a post modernist discourse to see subjectivity as a social inscription into the individuals, or is the question about subjectivity an entirely false one in this context? As far as I can understand, Foucault does not - in a true post modern fashion - necessarily attach negative connotations to 'power' - and so also not necessarily to the inscriptions - on the other side it seems as if his overall view on 'civilisation' as a socially produced disciplining of body and desires leaves little space for a reconciliation between desires and power. When you speak about cultivation of desires, is this then comparable to a concept of production of subjectivity in a post modern context? And is this cultivation basically an individual or (also) a collectively mediated issue?

Critical theory does not think entirely in an opposite way about subjectivity. You might find 'essentialist humanists' in a critical theory tradition, who would ground subjectivity in a 'food package' prepared in early childhood, situated in a dichotomy between external social coercion and inner strive, but this is reductionism. Oskar Negt and others with a synthesised background in critical theory and psychoanalysis, emphasise the socially produced and historically dynamic character of human subjectivity, and its inner contradictions. It is seen as being produced through individual life history, and integrating the critique of modernity, as the contradictions of social life are subjectively acquired, but subjectivity is also a capacity for a self regulated reconciliation or mediation between desires and social reality. Basically the development of subjectivity depends on a 'cultivation of desires' in the sense of experience building in a communicative space where utopian imagination and reality can be handled in a conscious and collective way. So in this theory we are back to the collective experience as a decisive aspect in the understanding of subjectivity - and learning as a factor in the social production of subjectivity.

Knowledge and Collective Experience

Since learning has to do with some transformation of a subject/individual by acquisition of knowledge in some sense then another comparable and also differentiating theme could be the conceptualisation and understanding of knowledge.

Using the process-concept 'modernization' rather than the distinctive one 'modernity' takes us directly to the social and cultural base of learning and experience, that is the *production process of 'reason' and knowledge*. For critical thinking about lifelong learning it goes about linking this collective experience to underlying socio-structural developments and their appearance as conflicts in the everyday life of 'ordinary people'. We must study the subjective experience in the context of connections between societal development and the conflicts set by it. Where this will take us is a political question - but the political process in its widest sense is extremely dependent on (collective) learning processes.

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Fitting in: what place is accorded to the experiential learning mature students bring with them to Higher Education

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Ann Hanson (1996: 101), suggests that '...any theory of adult learning which advocates the importance of each individual as an individual, but avoids issues of curriculum control and power does little to address the actual learning situation of adults.' Perhaps this statement describes the crux of the matter with regard to the Accreditation of Prior Experiential Learning (APEL) in universities: a situation where students who have gained knowledge, skills and abilities in different walks of life attempt to equate these with learning delivered in modules and accounted for in numbers of credits. Hanson, arguing against a separate theory of adult learning, or andragogy, goes on to suggest that not only may it be desirable that '...adults suspend their adulthood at the door of the institution... by their situational acceptance of the authority of the tutor' but that 'experience may even be a block to learning for adults who have become set in their ways.' (p. 103). Yet to deny or disregard that experience is surely to waste a wealth and richness which can be profitably included in the learning taking place at university, and more seriously, to diminish the individual entering the field of study by suggesting that he/she starts as a blank canvas. Knowles (1996) describes the identity of an adult as being defined by her/his experience:

> If you ask an adult who he (sic) is, he is likely to identify himself in terms of what his occupation is, where he has worked, where he has travelled, what his training and experience have equipped him to do, and what his achievements have been. An adult is what he has *done.* (author's italics) (p. 89).

For an adult to set aside her/his experience on entering university is therefore not only to waste a resource which can benefit both the individual and others around them but also to take away the person's identity and turn learning into a mechanistic and superficial process which does not engage the student in praxis, defined by Mezirow (cited in Challis 1996 p.35) as '..the unity of reflection and action, underpinned by the willingness to alter personal ways of thinking.' Boud and Walker (1993) likewise stress the relevance of the whole of our experience and the importance of taking it into account in learning.

The developmental model of APEL (as opposed to the credit exchange model exemplified by National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs), Butterworth 1992) has as its aim to offer a process by which students with experience can formulate the knowledge and abilities they have acquired through that experience in such a way as to gain recognition and credit for them in educational institutions. It is, therefore, perhaps surprising that APEL has had less success in the higher education (HE) sector than might have been expected, and indeed as Trowler (1996 p. 28) says it '...is a very long way from becoming a central part of the route to mass higher education.' This is at a time when many universities already have a large proportion of students over 25, and can expect to see this proportion increase if the present government achieves its aim of 50% of the population under thirty participating in higher education (John Carvel in The Guardian 8 March 1999). A third of these new recruits are expected to be part-timers, working to pay for their study on what are described as 'career-friendly modular courses'. APEL would seem to be particularly appropriate for students in this position: working and studying, paying for their own courses and presumably wishing to complete in perhaps a somewhat shorter time than the six years generally spent on a part-time degree.

So why is APEL not thriving and expanding in our universities? Is Hanson (1996) right in suggesting that it is too difficult to reconcile learning from experience and academic study? Is there a reluctance on the part of either students or lecturers to go down this route? Or is it due to structures and systems in operation which are not adaptable to this approach, and a lack of willingness to change them? What might be the consequences of failure to accommodate the experience students bring with them? This paper will try to find answers to these questions by looking at the experience of students and staff in one university, and attempt to envisage a way forward for what Challis (1996: 39) considers '...a model of good adult education practice.'

It is something of a paradox that modularisation of the curriculum in universities, whilst designed to create a more flexible approach to study and to make it more accessible at different points to a greater number of people, has in many ways resulted in a system which is more rigid and mechanical and which seems to operate against the development of the individual and the fostering of independent thought. This is because learning outcomes often do not represent a true picture of the range and depth of learning covered in a module. They may be tokenistic or include exaggerated claims of what can be achieved, and also tend to be knowledge based. Trowler (1996) explains how the credit system which started in new universities and is now recognised in 75% of all HE institutions was designed '...to facilitate the shift from an 'elite' towards a 'mass' model of higher education and so both to deepen and broaden access to it.' (p. 18). However Trowler suggests that universities may be unhappy about losing funding by granting credit, and that questions of the status of credit and the maintenance of quality may also influence the take up of APEL. There have also been suggestions (Barkatoolah, Usher cited in Trowler 1996) that students undertaking APEL could be disadvantaged in various ways. Barkatoolah posits that those assessing and interviewing candidates may be doing so with certain social prototypes in mind or may be influenced by stereotypes of gender and ethnicity and which may adversely affect the outcomes for the candidate. Usher suggests that the process of reflecting on personal experience and re-formulating it in formal academic terms for the purpose of gaining credit may result in feelings of loss of control or alienation from their experience for the student, and be particularly damaging if credit is not awarded to the extent hoped for.

Doubts about credibility of claims and a tendency to preserve the status quo may have resulted in the generally poor allocation of resources to APEL in universities. Research for this paper was carried out in an inner-city, new university with a diverse student body, 75% over 21 and 60% over 25. We talked to the member of staff responsible for APEL in each faculty as well as to other lecturers who, as subject specialists, have dealt with claims from individual students. We also talked to a number of students who had submitted, or are in the process of preparing, claims for APEL in the different faculties, some of whom entered the University through the regular channels and found out about APEL in induction or through publicity, others who entered via the University's Refugee Advice and Guidance Unit. The latter followed a programme designed to help refugees and asylum seekers with high level qualifications and experience to gain recognition for this and enter further study or employment. The University runs a preliminary level module entitled 'Making your Experience Count' which students can opt to take in their first year. As well as looking at learning related issues, this module takes them through the process of constructing a portfolio for the purpose of claiming credit for second and third year modules over and above the 15 points awarded for successful completion.

Interviews with staff, whilst confirming a deep seated commitment to notions of equality of opportunity and to the education of mature students, also revealed several real or perceived barriers to recognition of the experience students bring to their studies. These include practical factors such as time and student numbers, as well as attitudes held or perceived to be held by colleagues concerning the value of experiential learning and its relevance to programmes of study at the University. There was a general reluctance to take issues related to APEL on board, although it was emphasised that when students had chosen to put together claims they were treated with scrupulous fairness and academic rigour.

Lecturers' attitudes to prior learning are complex and relate to different feelings about their work, their students and the context in which teaching and learning takes place. Thus lecturers feel protective towards the courses they teach and generally feel that it is important for students to complete these in full whatever their prior knowledge or experience. In the Science Faculty, it was felt that APEL would have a small role because of the nature of the courses, which are 'knowledge based', and '...very few students would have been able to gain that knowledge from experience.' In the Business School, too, the view was that '...lecturers are doubtful whether experience in the workplace can ever be equivalent to work in the classroom in terms of learning.' One colleague's personal view is that in workplaces people are generally not encouraged to think or use their initiative, and that people with work experience coming to university may not be in the habit of thinking. In all faculties there were variations expressed of the view that lecturers want to get on with teaching their subject, with the implication that gaining credit for learning from experience was not an adequate substitute for taking a course. In the Business School the feeling was expressed that different students doing different things would '...detract from the concept of community and course culture, the notion that students should work together.' and there was also '..a fear of a diminution of quality.' This idea was reinforced by a lecturer in the Humanities Faculty who felt that it could be interpreted as diminishing one's own credibility to have designed and worked up a module which a student then '...happens to have done all by himself.' Another in the same faculty felt that '...APEL would be bypassing the sustained process of reading/writing which the pathway (Education Studies) is all about.' These views support Hanson's (1996) notion that adults should enter HE prepared to start from square one, setting aside any relevant knowledge and experience they bring with them.

In an environment where there is a strong emphasis on 'productivity', in terms of high student turnover and financial efficiency, the process of APEL is universally seen as complicated and involving too much work for staff. This is undoubtedly due in large part to the pressures on lecturers teaching very large groups of students with diminishing contact time per group. However there is also a pedagogic dimension to this attitude. One APEL co-ordinator described the process as involving '...a level of conceptualisation of what you are doing as a teacher and as a student which is mostly absent.' Another felt that '…most lecturers are not interested in education, they are interested in their subject'. Views such as these reinforce the notion of HE as being knowledge rather than process oriented, about 'knowing that' rather than 'knowing how' (Barnett 1994) and this matches the expectations of many students, mature as well as traditional.

Although most lecturers had a positive attitude to students attempting to claim credit for experience in that they encouraged them, there was some feeling that students opting for APEL could be looking for an easy route to a qualification. 'Most students do not think about learning as a process but focus on exams and results' said one colleague. 'Their reasons for opting for APEL are either to speed up the process of obtaining a degree or to avoid subjects they do not want to take such as Maths and Economics.' On the other hand one lecturer recognised that obliging students to take compulsory modules which they felt they had already covered sometimes led to feelings of resentment. Students are thus often perceived as having a strategic attitude to their studies, which matches the tone of much contemporary writing about the aims and purposes of higher education, particularly any emanating from government sources or mouthpieces. Whilst not denying the importance and validity of practical goals in terms of employment and factors of time and money to students, our findings lead us to believe that these are paralleled and often overshadowed for mature students by the importance of learning processes and their own development as individuals.

Many students, particularly if they have been outside education for some time, experience a loss of identity on entering an HE institution. The large student body, the fragmented nature of the curriculum as a result of modularisation, the incoherent geographical characteristics of a non-campus university contribute to the impression of being an ant in a teeming anthill or a number. Some mature women returners have commented on the lack of personal contact with tutors, others have suggested that lecturers have a different attitude to mature students, that they feel they '...can't just fob them off with any old stuff.' (Peters 1998 p. 245). Generally, mature returners seem to feel, much as any other student does, that they are a very small fish in a big pond and that to expect any recognition as an individual different from others is to cause trouble or make themselves unpopular with the lecturers. This does not present a picture of an atmosphere where APEL is likely to thrive or in which a student might feel confident of getting recognition of past experience. Numbers of claims for experiential learning have been predictably low in all faculties, ironically even more so since proper quality assurance procedures have been put in place because of the bureaucracy involved. The only area which has accredited large numbers of students is in Community Nursing where structured support is offered to nurses upgrading their qualifications to degrees. The other routes which offer structured support are the 'Making your Experience Count' module and the Refugee Assessment and Guidance Unit programme. The reactions of students who have undertaken work for APEL on these routes have been almost universally positive as far as the process is concerned. Students on the module expressed surprise at the engagement of self which the process involved, something they did not expect from their studies at university. As one said:

> I didn't think until doing this module that a lot of the things I've been struggling with, feelings, outrage, anger, how to get around the system, how to make things better, would come to the fore.

Another gain from the module was the language in which to express their previous learning from experience in terms which would relate to the academic world. This was particularly important for refugees and asylum seekers starting a new life in a new country, and seeking to establish an identity within the UK system which accorded a place for the experience and knowledge accumulated from their past. Having suffered the loss of status entailed by exile, participants in the APEL process felt it helped them to make the transition of self into the new environment, making comments such as:

> It helped me to redefine my goals.
> It helped me identify my potential and appreciate it.
> The most important aspect was the concept of change.

Although claims for credit by participants on these programmes were not always successful, they felt overwhelmingly that the process had been crucial to them in locating themselves and discovering the rules of the game. As one said: 'This is the first time in the UK that I feel I am one of you, I belong.' This is not to deny Barkatoolah's (cited in Trowler 1996) point about the influences of stereotypes on assessors, but rather to suggest that empowering candidates by giving them the tools to deal with different types of assessors can provide a short term solution. At the same time issues need to be taken up by those in a position to do so. For example, as a result of discussions between the University wide APEL co-ordinator and a member of staff in the School of Education, it was possible to highlight the opportunities available within the modular framework to make space in the curriculum for a set of learning outcomes based on experience, in this case from a candidate with considerable experience as a deputy head in Africa, and to consult the course team on the possible award of credit. Battles have to be fought, very often on an individual basis, and there are sometimes failures which may prove discouraging for the individuals concerned. One student who was successful in her claim although unhappy with the grade awarded, felt that the reason APEL was not well understood across the University was because of the 'patriarchal male' dominance of the prevailing culture, in which APEL is seen as 'a difficult area, emotional, feminine and marginal'. As a part-time student she had felt particularly isolated and found that the APEL process had helped her understand the programme planning and design systems, and given her support and guidance. It is another paradox that part time students, who could be seen to be most likely to benefit from APEL because they are mature, usually working, paying for their own studies and wanting to gain time, are acknowledged by lecturers and students to be the most neglected and marginalised in the modular system.

Coben and Hull (1994) suggest that APEL provides '...a possible approach to breaking down barriers and stereotyping within educational courses and beyond.' It has been our experience that students from very diverse backgrounds and a broad age range have found the process of APEL useful in enabling them to position themselves within the higher education environment and developing a continuity between their previous selves and themselves as students. This has perhaps particularly been the case for students from under represented groups who have not considered themselves university material in the past. This is to a great extent because by undertaking the APEL process they have had access to guidance and support which were not available in other areas of their studies. There are undoubtedly difficulties when it comes to recognition and accreditation of experience, however the many successful cases of award of credit demonstrate that the system is workable given the commitment of the necessary resources for development. Unfortunately, whilst paying lip service to learner-centred learning through the supposed flexibility of modular systems and CATS, universities seem to be moving towards a mass production model where there is little scope for this type of development and where individual students are expected to fit in and conform for the sake of efficiency and for the purposes of 'quality control'. At the same time lecturers are hanging on to old fashioned ideas of ownership of knowledge and their sole right to dispense it as they see fit. It is not surprising therefore that APEL has made little impact and barely receives a mention in government and institution documents on lifelong learning. If lifelong learning is to be meaningful for those who are expected to participate in it and learners are genuinely to take '...increased ownership of their own learning and its management throughout life.' (Fryer 1997) a different culture needs to be established, one in which the contribution individual learners bring to the group learning situation and to the institution is recognised, valued and accommodated as an integral part of the academic process.

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Accommodating refugee identity transitions: how adult education hinders or helps refugee lifelong learning needs

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This paper explores the results of a small pilot study into refugee identity transitions and their attempts to access the education system in the UK. It draws primarily on focus group discussions with sixteen refugees and asylum seekers in the London area. Findings from the pilot study suggest that refugees and asylum seekers are often disempowered as much by the receiving country as from their original experience of flight. The paper first discusses literature relating to refugee identities and current educational provision. It then looks at the focus group's experiences and poses some suggestions for a more substantive research project.

Definition

Refugees and asylum seekers are a significant minority group comprising former citizens of a multiplicity of countries of origin and ethnicities. Their continuing education needs and relationship to higher education provision are variable. The usual definition of a refugee is taken from the 1951 Geneva convention as:

> Any person who owing to a well founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political question is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, is unable, or owing to such a fear is unwilling to return to it (in Walters 1997: 7).

However this definition was agreed in the aftermath of the Second World War and responds to the social context of the time. Its application to current circumstances is extremely problematic, not least for politicians and the legal profession. Asylum legislation and immigration practice are compounded by the European Union (EU) Single Market legislation for free mobility of labour. These tensions exacerbate political comment that popularises the safeguarding of national borders, alongside promoting fortress Europe. There are approximately 22,376,000 refugees world-wide and 6,056,000 in Europe (UNHCR 1998). It is perhaps more appropriate to describe refugees as people who have left their home for reasons of abuse. This then leaves open the current debate on the economic migrant.

The literature

There is generally a dearth of formal research literature regarding refugee issues, particularly in the UK (Holmes 1991). Of the research which is cited, much of it relates to the United States (for example Podeschi 1990, Tollefson 1989, Green 1994, DuBois 1993). Of the UK literature, Baker (1983) in particular lists a number of desired research areas, including the need for greater information about individual people's relationships to specific experiences and the relationship between these and their present coping abilities. There is also too little research into the different kinds of assistance experienced by asylum seekers, or information about the best way of training refugee workers. There is, however, a growing body of informal research undertaken by specific projects working with refugee community groups, or undertaken by the community groups themselves (for example, the Iraqi Community Association Research: 'Now we are here', 1996). These initiatives are seldom published by the mainstream in spite of their value in presenting 'insider' information which is otherwise unavailable.

This project begins to address some of these issues in a UK context and with reference to London as one of the country's most populated refugee areas. The particular focus will be on the relationship between various identity phases and transitions of asylum seekers and their experiences of education and training provision during that time. This focus derives from an aspect of earlier research (Preece 1999, 1999a) and research by West (1996) which highlighted the critical link between the learner's sense of self and their participation in education.

The interface of appropriate education with refugee identity states is regarded as central by a number of writers. Whilst Baker (1983) emphasises that each refugee experience is unique, he also notes typical characteristics of that experience - including a deep sense of loss - of trust, of self, self esteem, self respect and personal identity. This is precipitated by a decision to leave their country of origin based on fear rather than the usual migratory motivation of ambition or hope. The refugee experience is thus different from, and should not be treated in the same way as, other migration experiences. There may of course be some subsequent shared overlaps of culture shock, loss and alienation in the host country.

There are particular phases in the refugee experience which affect each individual's sense of displacement and loss of national identity relationships and links. These phases affect identity transitions and range from the initial threat in the country of origin to the experience of flight, possibly a refugee camp and the resettlement phases. Whilst the effects of such experiences are significant the responses of services in the host community will influence integration into that country and the ability of individuals to re-build their lives. Baker and others (Podeschi 1990) emphasise the need for sensitive education programmes which take account of cultural backgrounds and language needs. Tollefson and James (1989) and Green (1994) identify two additional concerns in this process in relation to the United States. Firstly the common policy of encouraging refugees to accept minimum wage jobs in order to promote integration and independence is regarded as counter productive for long term settlement with the result that the strategy ultimately reduces opportunities to get out of the poverty trap. Strategies which concentrate on 'programmes that contribute to community organisation, political action and a capacity to confront the social, political and economic consequences of poverty' (Green 1994: 342) are recommended. It is argued that refugees need programmes which enable them to help their wider community, rather than reduce individual unemployment statistics. Such programmes are also seen as contributing to the cultural backgrounds of many refugee communities where community and holistic approaches to development are more important than individual gain (Giles 1996). Many programmes are seen as poorly designed and ineffective and not reflecting the educational achievements of the learners from their country of origin (Ascher 1990). Whilst education provision needs to be provided in a sensitive and supportive environment, where other survival and family goals are also catered for, the aim would be to avoid the more stereotype models of refugee identities as passive and 'incapacitated by grief' (DuBois 1993: 4).

An additional factor affecting the nature of educational provision and integration strategies is outlined by Walters and Huremovic (1998) where Bosnian refugees, for example, are also planning to return to their country of origin. Return has implications for identity transitions and the nature of education on offer. In other words, education programmes need to take account of the values of the country of origin whilst enabling a critique of both that country and the host community values. This, Giles (1996) argues, is the most effective way forward for integrating the past and present and building an identity which exists meaningfully in both cultures (p. 219).

This strategy relates closely to the second issue - that of the particular position of women refugees. Green (1994) suggests that the principle adult group of refugees are women from developing countries. Often women have experienced gender oppression and roles where the transition to a new country may provide an opportunity for women to re-examine their role and potential for independence. Alongside this DuBois (1993) points to two factors which require cultural awareness in helping refugees adjust. First, there is a need to recognise the wider political role the West may have played in the refugee plight. Secondly the goal of refugee assimilation rather than integration may deny the refugee a constructive self identity which can be used for self generation. The concept of integration is a matter of current debate. While assimilation is regarded as an inappropriate response, integration is offered as a politically correct policy. Robinson (1998) argues that integration has no agreed definition. At worst it really means assimilation, at best it underpins a naive celebration of the richness of multiculturalism. The assumption, which goes unquestioned, is that there is something into which refugees can be integrated. It is clear that their experience is often one of exclusion. Unemployment rates, for instance, are consistently high among refugees; between 85% (Walters and Egan 1996) and 81% (Johansen 1998). Benefit dependency is widespread. There is a case to be made that a more fluid and flexible self definition by the host countries would facilitate the re-construction and self generation of minority identities. The assumption that the identity of the host society, its culture and responses, is fixed and given only erects unreal barriers based on defensive self stereotyping. Giles (1996), Kroger & Haslett (1991) and Breakwell (1992), for example, emphasise how identities are constructed and reconstructed in relation to how others treat you. Breakwell 1992 points out how identities reformulate throughout life. The effect of cultural change produces anxiety but there is also potential to adapt and recreate new identities if individuals are connected to structures which support the self concept and sense of group membership. It is this process of identity change and its relationship to continuing education services which the research seeks to understand as a lived experience. From that understanding it is possible to make recommendations for improvement to facilitate cultural awareness and ultimately improved prospects for independent life in the host community or return to the country of origin.

The goal of the pilot study was to explore what aspects of identity were highlighted by the refugees themselves. Some of the research questions were: How can/are education providers developing learning agendas for refugees? Are the role transitions, particularly for women, being addressed sensitively? What identity factors are hindering some asylum seekers and refugees from seeking education and training? Is the education and training emphasis on basic employment or developing the potential which reflects the educational achievement in the country of origin? How have asylum seekers/refugees experienced these issues? What is the impact of various education interfaces with their own identity transition phases?

In the event the pilot phase questions barely got beyond the group's stories of how they were denied access to educational opportunities, let alone an analysis of learning which accommodated their individual and cultural backgrounds.

The focus group consisted of refugees and asylum seekers who had been in the UK from between 6 months and 6 years. Their countries of origin included Algeria, Eritrea, Bosnia, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria and the Congo. They were currently doing the kind of community advocacy course advocated by Green. All of the course participants had been professionals in their own country and most had degrees, some even at Masters level. Their attempts to obtain further qualifications consistently resulted in a rejection of their existing qualifications. One church minister with a degree in theology, philosophy and church history applied for a postgraduate course in London. He was offered a repeat of his first degree but after a few months of study he left because it simply duplicated his existing studies. A man with an MSc in economic science tried to obtain an English equivalent of his tax verifier job but was sent on a National Vocational Qualifications (NVQ) course (which has a maximum accreditation level of pre degree status). Another was sent to an English Language (ESOL) class when he applied for a degree but was advised to seek something more advanced by the course tutor on receiving his first assignment. Black refugees particularly felt they were being judged on racial grounds rather than according to ability. In the context of these and similar examples they were also struggling to re-build a new sense of self in spite of the host country's response to them. The perceived contrast between what they had left and what they now had was stark:

> If you are a professional you've lost everything that you worked for in your lifetime, fleeing from persecution - here is a second persecution, it is very frustrating .. it is outwardly downgrading, you are made to go backwards, you are inwardly sad (woman); ... You cannot do what you want, you cannot have a real identity, you try to live someone else's identity.

> Now I live like someone who is learning NVQs and still I can't find a job (tax verifier).

Responses to these and similar situations drew on their inner survival instincts as refugees, giving them a sense that war has many faces. They felt they were thrown into situations where their energies were directed against the very system designated for their safety:

> Here there are no guns but you still have to be strong and fight ...(the asylum seeking system) its a psychological war .. here is a hidden war which you can't see .. more dangerous than Africa's war which you can see .... It makes me stronger, more determined ...

One man vividly described the process in intellectual terms but still using battle vocabulary:

> Everyone is rejected through the process of seeking asylum - they reject you to ignite self destruction .. you are not regarded as capable of dealing with high profile issues - if you were in the past (they decide) you must be corrupt, always lying. You need to know the tricks in the system here.

People had been physically stripped of their identity in many guises. The process of integration if interpreted as a form of assimilation could doubly deny a rebuilding of this identity. Some found ways of nurturing their inner sense of self in spite of external forces. An architect from Bosnia, for example described his own personal means of integrating himself even where outward signs were denied him:

> Integration means you are distinguishable with your own identity and can still work in this country. I kept being told to requalify. I took the first opportunity to grab something else, rather than not work. It didn't affect my identity. I have an identity as an architect, but it is more important to find work.

Others, however found it less easy to maintain this level of resistance in the face of overt rejection. One man suggested that the UK was particularly intolerant of asylum seekers:

> Certain countries destroy your morale - its colonialism - you internalise rejection, it creates mental illness. I know people who go down under it.

Another reiterated this point:

> Already you die but you think that you are living. They call the refugee 'living death'.

One of the most significant challenges to the literature perceptions of refugee origins came from the three women in the focus group, all of whom had professional qualifications. I invited them to comment on whether the UK offered them freedoms they had not experienced in their own country. They all disputed this. One Muslim woman said:

> I did not see any independence in the UK. I had power and luxury back home - I did not gain by coming here. I lost everything. It's very hard for a refugee woman to gain anything from here. British women are not equal so how can a refugee woman gain?

This response highlights how Western notions of freedom and power do not equate with experiences from the country of origin (Ali 1992). Linked to this was the perception amongst many in the group that Britain was a particularly oppressive, class dominated society, which in itself exacerbated their opportunities compared with the experience of contacts in other countries:

> This country is like the feudal system - people work very hard and they get no bright future - its a class system.

Identity for this group was something which was denied at every turn. It was also something which could help or hinder their survival amidst an otherwise seemingly hostile environment. Education was regarded by the refugees as a vital step on their way to accessing UK society, yet it also proved hard won and invariably not on their terms. Many refugees arrive with formal (and informal) qualifications. Their recognition is formally problematic and equivalency often couched in 'general' terms (NARIC). The responsibility for recognition is left to individual education providers, admission tutors or employers. Providers tend to operate on a deficit model which results in a concentration on basic English language and basic skills training and ignores the validity of previous educational experience, or needs of technical English. The educational achievements of younger refugees are often higher (Walters & Huremovic 1998) but this is often not transferred into the labour market at an appropriate level (Apitsch 1998). There is a gap between self identity based on educational qualifications and identity confirmed, through employment, by host societies. The effect on their sense of who they are can be destructive for refugees. Where it doesn't destroy, the struggle absorbs reserves of energy which inevitably sap their ability to function effectively in other ways.

These findings raise questions about whether existing literature is appropriately addressing the concerns of refugees in the context of their total experience. In other words, how much are education providers exacerbating people's usefulness to themselves, their host country and their own communities if refugee identities are already being reinscribed by the very system designed to facilitate this? Members of the focus group emphasised their level of survival beyond those of many in their communities. But they also emphasised that it was the asylum seeking system, rather than their state on arrival which caused their ultimate helplessness. It has been a common experience amongst minority communities with qualifications from abroad that those qualifications are not recognised in the UK (Bhachu 1993). But the double disadvantage of identity denial for people already stripped of their external security has worrying implications for the way we are managing our incoming human capital. There is a need to start seeing refugees as a potential resource rather than simply a problem. The challenge to the educator is to develop an appropriate curriculum at all levels of the system which addresses the real situation of refugees who are only too eager to contribute to their host society. The host society itself is already changed by the presence of substantial numbers of people who have experienced being a refugee. This demands the redefinition of identity for both refugee and host, in order to promote pluralism within the human resource capital from which all should gain. This in turn would facilitate the healing of past traumatic experiences, rather than continue to exacerbate them.

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How are the discourses of Work-based Learning influencing practice?

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Introduction

This paper develops a framework for research into issues associated with the emergence of work-based (WBL) as an important new element of provision within higher education. Here work-based learning will be used to refer to learning *through* work, where learning is derived from engaging in the actual work role or job. We argue that in attempting to understand the development and the implications of WBL it is important to identify the discourses which have emerged, and which have shaped the implementation of WBL. These discourses have emerged in a context of change within the economy, and in the nature of work. They have also been influenced by the wider discourse of lifelong learning, and the process of change which has been transforming the nature of higher education. We conclude by suggesting a possible agenda for research in this area to explore the effects of these discourses on the work-based learning experience.

Discourses of WBL and Lifelong Learning

Attempts to foreground the 'discourses' which describe practices have increasingly entered debates in higher education (HE) and society more generally. Within the field of adult and continuing education Edwards (1997) in particular has begun the process of exploring the value of this approach in developing an understanding of the emerging concepts of lifelong learning and a learning society. Since work-based learning and workplace learning are given considerable prominence within the rhetoric of lifelong learning, and to a lesser extent perhaps the actual practices, Edwards' analysis addresses some of the components of this particular form of 'flexible' learning. Drawing on this approach we will attempt to outline in this paper how a study which focuses on the discourses of work-based learning might illuminate the varied practices which are already established and which are increasingly proposed as key elements of the new learning agenda.

We will begin by identifying some of the relationships between discourses of WBL and other powerful discourses in post-compulsory education. We will then explore some key elements of the discourses of work-based learning which are relevant in the context of higher education. Although we recognise that these may not constitute an exhaustive account we hope to illustrate some of the main influences and tensions that have emerged. Since the various 'stakeholders' in work-based learning (traditionally described as employers, higher education institutions (HEIs) and learners) have different purposes and priorities it is unsurprising that different and potentially competing discourses can be identified.

The development of work-based learning as an accredited activity within higher education was stimulated in the mid 1980s by an initial suit of 11 pilot projects which were funded by the then Employment Department (ED, 1994), additional funding was then made available for further project work. The objectives of these initiatives were focused on the needs of the labour market and on assisting learners in their task of developing skills required for employment. These projects could therefore be identified with a wider discourse that aimed to vocationalise higher education and which was explicitly linked to an economic imperative. Whilst the objectives of the government in stimulating work-based learning were clearly related to the needs of the economy, the practitioners who were involved in operationalising this new form of provision were also influenced by discourses of widening access to higher education which gave expression to a more democratic imperative. Thus in its initial development discourses of work-based learning have drawn on both these alternative discourses of higher education. Although the concept of lifelong learning has a longer history it was only perhaps in the mid 1990s that discourses of lifelong learning became a significant influence within work-based learning development. However, it may be argued that since that time discourses of lifelong learning have rapidly subsummed the earlier influences. Therefore although the origins of work-based learning drew on discourses of 'vocationalising higher education' and 'widening access' current discourses of work-based learning can be located within wider discourses of lifelong learning. At the same time, as a key component of this agenda, discourses of WBL may be used to reinforce the wider concerns of lifelong learning.

What are the influential discourses of WBL?

Some of the main elements of the discourses of WBL are indicated below. As one might expect these may overlap, be mutually reinforcing or in conflict. Practitioners and policy makers may of course draw on appropriate combinations of these themes in the different contexts in which they are operating.

Partnership

The notion of 'partnership' has assumed a central place in the discourses of WBL (Brennan and Little, 1996; ED 1994). Although 'partnership' may at times take on the characteristics of an all-encompassing principle or mantra, it may be helpful to identify three distinct but intertwining forms of partnership. Firstly, and most forcibly, higher education institutions are exhorted to enter into partnership with the customers or funders of WBL, particularly with employers, but also latterly with trade unions, voluntary organisations and professional bodies. 'Partnership' in these circumstances suggests that HEIs are to some extent relinquishing their exclusive rights to design and implement the learning programme and are acknowledging the strengths and contributions of the other parties. While the role of the partners may vary in practice the rhetoric emphasises a model of partnership where employers take an active role in negotiating the focus of the learning, provide support in the workplace and have some involvement in assessment. Whilst this approach has been developed initially with larger employers considerable emphasis has now been placed on trying to develop partnerships with small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) either directly or through representative organisations. The difficulties which have been experienced in securing SME involvement in practice perhaps also serve to illustrate the wider point that employing organisations may not be able to resource the very full role that such conceptions of 'partnership' imply. However, despite these constraints the discourse of partnership does aim to diminish barriers between formal and informal providers of learning. The second form of partnership, between HEIs and the learners themselves, has been a less explicit element of the discourse, perhaps because this tends to be enacted on a more individual basis and is focused on the individual as a learner rather than employee. At its heart lies the acknowledgement that WBL requires a shift from didactic forms of teaching to 'learner managed learning', which in itself has emerged as a powerful discourse (see below). The final form of partnership has been identified by Edwards (1997) with the emerging notion of the 'learning organisation' in which 'employment relationships are reconfigured as forms of partnership rather than based on conflict' (p. 146). Here attempts are made to reconcile the interests of the employer and employees through a common commitment to the survival of the organisation. In this context training or learning opportunities become another arena for negotiation and agreement.

Thus the discourse of partnership in WBL, in its many forms, implies that a natural consensus can be reached between different stakeholders. It acts to minimise the difficulties that may be encountered in attempting to negotiate a learning programme and it encourages institutions in particular to relinquish some of their traditional control over process and outcome.

Increasing competitiveness through increasing relevance

The demand for learning to have greater relevance for the workplace lies at the heart of much WBL development. This is particularly true of learning at degree level where perhaps the greatest sense of discontinuity has been reported. Whilst the link between providing greater and more relevant training opportunities and increased competitiveness is unclear, this has not prevented 'relevance' from becoming a very powerful discourse within education and latterly lifelong learning policy (NCIHE, 1997; ED, 1994). Since WBL offers the prospect of tailoring the learning objectives to the particular needs of the organisation it has been actively promoted as a means of satisfying the requirement for relevance. Indeed WBL practitioners who might otherwise identify with learner autonomy or reflective practice (see below) might on occasions utilise this more dominant discourse to win support for innovative developments within their institution or in funding applications.

In its desire for greater 'impact on practice' this discourse encourages a closer integration between the learning process and the normal activities of the work role. Learning through solving real problems, engaging in on-going projects etc. is linked to evaluation in order to provide for new actions. Whilst the integration of learning and work may remain incomplete this discourse minimises the barriers between work and learning.

Competence

Related to the discourse of 'relevance' a highly developed discourse of competence has emerged within vocational education. This places the emphasis on the individual's ability to perform a particular task associated with a job or a wider role. Whilst different conceptions of 'competence' have emerged within the UK and elsewhere, the dominance of the model associated with the National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) and the Scottish National Vocational Qualifications (SVQs) is striking. Indeed so dominant is this VQ discourse of competence that it at times subsumes wider forms of WBL, for example some of the concerns expressed by staff within higher education regarding the introduction of WBL may be traced to this particular model.

The Reflective Practitioner

The relevance of higher education curricula for work has been challenged from another perspective, that of the professional in practice. The notion of the reflective practitioner who not only reflects on action but also within the action itself was developed by Donald Schon (1987) in response to the perceived failure of the dominant mode of technical rationality within initial professional education. Whilst implementing this approach is not without its difficulties (Clift et al, 1990) the discourse surrounding reflective practice has been remarkably successful. In particular it has penetrated some professions such as nursing, teaching and social work which are seeking to establish themselves within academic contexts. While staff within these professions and HE have sought to encourage reflective practice through a number of formal and informal mechanisms it has become the particular focus of WBL programmes at the post-qualifying level.

Learning from experience

Whilst a theory of learning from experience may lie at the heart of WBL as an associated discourse it has perhaps been overshadowed by those of partnership and relevance outlined above. This is particularly true at the policy level within government, lead bodies and the professions. However, its influence may be stronger amongst practitioners within higher education where the theory of learning from experience may combine with deeply held values regarding the purposes and processes of adult education. Despite its 'common sense' appeal the discourse of learning from experience does articulate a clear challenge to the pre-eminence of the academy. Taking experience as the starting point for learning has the potential to erode traditional boundaries between knowledge and skills, vocational and academic learning, and between disciplines.

Learner autonomy

A related discourse, which perhaps has wider penetration within higher education, highlights the central role of learners in managing their own learning. This notion of learner autonomy has also received support from the Employment Department through a series of projects funded in 1993. Within work-based learning the effects of this discourse are particularly evident. Participants are no longer students but 'candidates' or simply 'learners', they are given the major role in 'taking responsibility for their own learning' whilst the academic staff and workplace mentors provide 'support' rather than direction.

Quality

Concerns about 'quality' have played an important role in framing work-based learning development. Initial work emphasised the importance of ensuring that the outcomes of work-based learning were comparable to those of more conventional provision despite the differences in process. Indeed as Brennan and Little (1996) note these early concerns led developers to put in place more overt mechanisms to assure quality than had traditionally been the case in higher education and in particular to lay bare some of the implicit assumption which surround assessment. Many of these approaches have now permeated more widely within higher education, for example the use of learning outcomes, descriptions of level, and explicit assessment criteria etc. The role of the Higher Education Quality Council and its successor the Quality Assurance Agency have been particularly significant in this regard, leading some to question the rise of a 'quality industry' which might discourage some staff from deviating from accepted norms.

Flexibility

While the influence of many of the discourses outlined above do reach beyond WBL this is particularly true of the final discourse which we would like to highlight in this paper, 'flexibility'. Indeed the notion of 'flexibility' has become almost all pervasive in discussions of policy and practice within lifelong learning. Within work-based learning particular significance has been attached to the degree of flexibility within a programme, in terms of both practical arrangements (start and end points, location of meetings, deadlines, programme structure etc.) and to the content (ability to negotiate the focus for learning and assessment mechanisms). In particular the requirement to be 'responsive' to the needs of employers and learners has been highlighted (ED, 1994). In contrast less consideration has been given to exploring the balance of flexibility and structure within programmes and to the difficulties of operating WBL within a less than flexible institution infrastructure.

What has shaped these discourses?

The discourses of WBL and the practices of WBL have emerged in the context of major changes in the economy and the nature of work. These changes have been associated with the growing emphasis on lifelong learning, and with change within the higher education system. An important objective for research in this area must be to examine how these developments are helping shape the nature of WBL, and the learning experiences for those involved. The key changes in the economy and the nature of work can be identified as follows:

- the importance of rapid technological development
- the growing emphasis on a 'knowledge' economy
- the increasing globalisation of the economy.

These changes have helped give rise to a discourse of competitiveness in which a key element is the level of knowledge and skills of the workforce. This has led to an emphasis on the need to ensure that the workforce have appropriate opportunities for education and training if economies are to develop and thrive in the international market. There has also been a growing emphasis on the idea that, associated with the rapid pace of change in technology and the growth of an 'information society', the nature of work is changing. The keys skills and competences are no longer the traditional forms of specialised knowledge and skill, but the core skills which enable workers to become multi-skilled, work in teams and acquire new skills, competences and roles as these are required (EC,1996).

All of these developments have underpinned a discourse of lifelong learning in which the emphasis is no longer on 'front end' education which prepares people for their life of work, but on providing opportunities for an ongoing process of learning throughout a changing career. Associated with this has been a growing emphasis on competence, and the development of core skills. These have increasingly been presented as key objectives in the development of the system of education and training. Within this context WBL has a potentially important role, insofar as it enables employees to engage in the regular processes of up-dating and continuing professional development which have been increasingly emphasised. However it is also clear that not all employees are equally likely to have access to these learning opportunities with investment in core workers taking precedence over those on the periphery.

These changes in the economic system, and the discourses which have been associated with them, have also had a major impact on the higher education system. The high level of demands for education and training has led to the growth of mass systems of higher education (Scott,1995). However the changes in higher education have not just been ones of growth in scale, but also in the nature of the education system. New kinds of knowledge, much of which is generated outside of the academy, have been given much higher status. Education has also been encouraged to become more flexible and responsive to the needs of the learner. The privileged role of higher education is also questioned as further education colleges, training agencies, and employers become more involved in the provision of learning opportunities. It is in this context that the discourses associated with WBL, which we have outlined above, have emerged.

Examining the relationship between WBL discourses and practice – an agenda for research

Since the mid 1980s WBL has become increasingly established within higher education in the UK. Many of the initiatives have emerged in response to the changes outlined above and have been shaped by particular discourses, a number of which are identified at the beginning of this paper. In their review of work-based learning development published in 1996 Brennan and Little highlight the lack of systematic research in this area. We would share their concern and argue for further research to investigate how WBL is emerging in response to these influences and how the these discourses are shaping the learning experiences of participants. In order to take forward this process we set out below an outline agenda for a future programme of research. Key questions for research are suggested together with an illustration of some of the related issues for investigation.

Key research themes

1. What are the changes in the nature of occupations that are generating the perceived needs for WBL?
    - For example, the introduction of new working practices, greater scrutiny within the public sector.

2. What is identified as the focus for the WBL in order to respond to these needs?
    - For example, core skills, multi-skilling or role specific knowledge.

3. What types of WBL processes have been proposed to meet these perceived needs?
    - What structures are proposed and what are the role of the various 'partners' in setting the agenda?
    - What models of learning are guiding developments and what is their impact?

4. To what extent are there inequalities in the opportunities for WBL
    - Which groups of employees are most likely to have these opportunities, are these differentiated by grade/level, gender, ethnicity, or type of contract?

5. What are the experiences of learners within these WBL processes?
    - What are their experiences of being 'flexible' or 'autonomous' learners?
    - How is the learning process supported in practice?

6. What is the nature of the learning which emerges from implementing these WBL processes?
    - Is the learning highly individual or part of a shared process?
    - What kinds of knowledge and skills are privileged by organisations and what is actually developed?

7 What are the effects of participation in these WBL processes on the way in which the learner operates within their occupational context?
   - Are approaches to work or relationships changed?
   - How does participation impact on the performance of the organisation?

While valuable work has already been undertaken under some of these themes we conclude by suggesting that a wider programme of research, such as that outlined above, would draw together important common issues to deepen our understanding of WBL. We also acknowledge that, while in the confines of this paper it has only been possible to address WBL development within higher education, the implications of changes which are taking place in the context of lifelong learning imply that a wider study would also be appropriate.

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'Anyway, Anyhow, Anywhere': Overcoming the Barrier of Space in Adult Education through the Use of Information & Communications Technology? (1)

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Introduction

We are now, if the government is to be believed, entering a 'renaissance' of post-compulsory and adult education. The notion of lifelong learning, having gathered momentum since the 1970s, is being widely promoted by policy-makers and educationalists under the aegis of establishing a 'learning society'. The aim of ushering Britain into a 'learning age' is now, therefore, a central tenet of current educational thinking (Dearing 1997, Fryer 1997, Kennedy 1997, DfEE 1998a). Nevertheless, such a monumental transformation is not envisaged without a fundamental reassessment of adult learning. It is recognised that:

> "The creation of the Learning Age is a challenging and ambitious programme. It will require great effort but we have no doubt about the capability or willingness of the nation to respond ... the decisions and choices of individual learners and firms will require existing education and training institutions to transform themselves The university, college or learning centre of the next century will look very different" (DfEE 1998a, p.13)

Of course, Britain's 'learning revolution' is taking place within a far wider social, cultural, economic and political context. Notions of post-industrialism, post-modernism and globalisation – although all ideologically distinct and highly contested – point towards fundamental shifts in the way societies are being structured within a rapidly changing world. Indeed, the development of complex networks of telecommunications technologies, along with the rise of information as a dominant form of capital, are seen as 'axial principles' of this epoch (Bell 1973). Amidst such shifts the changing nature of time and space are now also prominent concerns. It is now argued that space is central to contemporary society (Soja 1989). Many commentators point towards telecommunications networks as fundamentally intensifying 'time-space compression' (Harvey 1989), to an extent that the whole nature of space has to reassessed. Explaining the significance of such changes has been attempted in different ways. Whereas Castells (1989, 1996) argues for a change from a 'space of places' to a 'space of flows' other authors go further in insisting that developments in transportation and telecommunications technology render space entirely meaningless and even 'absurd' (for example, Gillespie and Williams 1988, Jones 1997).

Against this background a growing emphasis on telecommunications technology within 'Learning Society' discourse should come as no surprise. Over the last two decades information and communications technology (ICT) has increasingly been seen as the logical means for establishing a 'learning society'; offering a flexibility of time and space that negates many, if not all, traditional barriers to lifelong learning (Selwyn & Gorard 1999). Such technological faith is, however, often treated as unproblematic and with a sense of inevitability by many who are involved with adult learning. The purpose of this paper is to redress at least part of this balance by critically examining the claims surrounding ICT, adult learning and spatial barriers to participation.

'Virtual Education' - from rhetoric to reality

The promise of 'anytime, anywhere' education via ICT has proved highly attractive to educationalists, many of whom have been keen to speculate on the effects that technology may have on learning.

Typical of such enthusiasm is Gell and Cochrane's vision of the imminent 'meltdown' of traditional education:

> ICTs remove the constraints of distance, time and location, which will undermine traditional educational monopolies and force a restructuring and revitalisation as a new 'training, learning and creativity' sector … Lifetime learning has become a necessity and will replace the old pattern in which education occurred in school and university before a person started a career. Meltdown in education is also likely to encompass all ages and bring remote capabilities into the home. (Gell and Cochrane 1996, p.252)

In a similar vein, commentators such as Bentley (1998), argue that ICT offers a 'new landscape of learning' unfettered by the enclosed spaces of traditional institutions. Educational technology is seen as leading to the 'de-localisation of learning' with individuals free to learn whenever they choose. Thus, for some more radical commentators, such a compression of previous spatial and temporal barriers leaves little doubt how the learning of the near future will be conducted. As Naylor (1998) incredulously asks, why would any learner choose differently?

> If information is freely available, to anyone, anywhere, at any time, then why would anyone go to the trouble of travelling in order to access it? Why would they go to school, college or university at all, when simply by switching on their own computer near to them, the information and expertise once held at that school, college or university can come straight to them? (Naylor 1998, p.xxiii)

Beyond such proclamations the development of 'virtual' post-compulsory education has been gathering momentum. In the UK the Open University provided its first summer school via the Internet in 1994. Similarly, in the USA Stanford University began to offer on-line postgraduate courses. Now, since the election of the present Labour administration, a co-ordinated and centralised drive to establish technology-based lifelong learning in the UK has been initiated; most prominently under the *University for Industry*. The University for Industry (UfI) is not envisaged as an individual teaching institution *per se* but as a framework to stimulate and co-ordinate lifelong training and courses – acting as a broker and gateway to technologically-based learning opportunities (Hillman, 1996). Thus the majority of lifelong learning projects aimed at adults may eventually come under the UfI umbrella. Parallel to the UfI, other moves are being made to provide technology-based learning to all sectors of society; including the schools-orientated *National Grid for Learning*, the *People's Network* of connected libraries and museums as well as various 'Virtual College' initiatives such as the Welsh *Coleg Digidol*.

In establishing these projects a major justification has been the widening of access to lifelong learning and breaking down barriers to participation in education – be they geographical, institutional or motivational. In doing so it is implied that ICT will be the primary means by which programmes such as the UfI will help overcome spatial and temporal barriers to traditional lifelong learning. There is reasonable agreement across different research and interest groups as to the nature of current non-participants in post-compulsory education and training (Tight 1998). Recent government-sponsored reports, subsequent green papers, and academic studies list the unemployed and others on low incomes, the unskilled and unqualified, ex-offenders, part-time or temporary workers, those with learning difficulties or low levels of basic skills, and some ethnic groups as being the least likely to participate (Fryer 1997, Kennedy 1997, DfEE 1998a, Gorard *et al.* 1999). This paper's main concern is with the capacity of ICT-based learning to overcome the barriers of space to participation in adult learning by these groups. To what extent can information and communications technology be seen as negating traditional barriers of location and proximity to learning opportunities? Moreover, in bringing in such 'new forms' of adult learning, what can be expected of the 'new spaces' supported by telecommunications technology – will they induce or deter participation in learning? Is space no longer an issue in the ensuing Learning Society?

i) New spaces for all?

Despite the many promises of on-line learning individuals obviously have to be first 'connected' in order to benefit(2) Here, perhaps, the successful development of 'virtual' learning faces its most significant barrier. Domestic access to technology is by no means equally distributed. The penetration of telephone lines (a minimal requirement for connection to the Internet) in UK households has levelled at 90 percent; with home computer ownership rising to 40 percent of the population (MORI 1998). Although conventional television ownership is enjoyed by the vast majority of households, the permeation of cable and non-terrestrial television has been far less widespread. It remains to be seen whether or not digital television, hoped to be the driving force of the UfI and Coleg Digidol, will face the same barriers to widespread access. It is already clear, for example, from our work with the Access Group of Coleg Digidol that there are serious technical difficulties in providing digital transmissions to the coalfield valleys north of Cardiff where the majority of current non-participants in Wales actually reside.

Such statistics also obscure the *quality* of connection to information networks. For example, effective connection to the Internet requires a constantly increasing specification of computer and bandwidth of connection, with the latest on-line resources designed to be accessed by increasingly powerful software(3) Moreover, even at the broadest level, access to telecommunications technology is rigidly demarcated in terms of income, social class, ethnic group and gender. As Dyer (1997) demonstrates, the 'disconnected' are characterised by their geographical location and low socio-economic status; with inner-city as well as rural areas least likely to have access to even basic telecommunications networks. Thus, in order to gain access to on-line learning, issues of space and locality suddenly take on a great importance.

In response to the problem of inequality of domestic access to technology, the UfI and Coleg Digidol models both propose the establishment of distributed 'Learning Centres' where learners can access on-line resources. Thus the UfI pilot scheme in the North-East of England was based around a series of associated Learning Centres distributed among Further Education colleges, libraries and museums as well as less traditional sites such as football grounds, shopping centres and pubs. Nevertheless, despite these latter, high-profile sites, the majority of learning centres established so far have been situated in pre-existing traditional educational institutions; replicating the barriers of space that prevented non-participants in 'off-line' adult learning from using them in the first instance.

Even presuming equality of physical access to on-line learning how attractive will such learning spaces be to all individuals? The culture of information and communications technology remains firmly young, white, middle-class and male; precisely the narrow attributes of the traditional adult learning base the government are so keen to move beyond. It has long been argued that information and communication technologies are ostensibly white, middle-class, Euro-centric (in alphabet and language-use at least), male artefacts; in terms of their language, technical development and users' values (Spender, 1997, Holderness 1998). In this way many of the technologies that will form the backbone of on-line adult learning (in particular the Internet) are not necessarily likely to be dominant or familiar technology with working class, older, female and some learners from local ethnic minorities. Although it would be contentious to assert that ICT will increase divisions between learners along these lines it seems unlikely that, in the short term, delivering learning opportunities in this way will positively discriminate for the working class, females and ethnic minorities and, therefore, extend the reach of lifelong learning.

Yet, whilst recognising this problem, some proponents of educational technology do not necessarily see it as a pressing issue for concern:

> Effective learning can be realised by providing a student with a computer, loading the educational software and walking away. As this becomes a natural teaching environment for younger people it may be necessary to use only traditional methods with 'older' students. (Gell and Cochrane 1996, p.252)

In the light of this statement, and ignoring its ready dismissal of a large section of 'adult' learners, can it be assumed that technology-based learning will ever be a 'natural' environment for all learners and, if not, what implications does this have for those who will have to resort to 'traditional' methods? Moreover, where does this leave those individuals for whom traditional methods of education were not successful? Presenting learning opportunities in such a hierarchical manner instils little confidence in the inclusiveness of 'new forms' of adult learning.

ii) The Social Construction of New Learning Spaces

Spaces, whether in 'real-life' or on-line, can be seen as socially constructed. As Kitchin asserts, "access to certain spaces is strongly regulated through social and cultural practices and beliefs" (1998 : 7). Thus, whilst virtual arenas may well be seen as 'new' social spaces for learning they will remain, as much as they were before, socially constructed spaces. So, will these new forms of lifelong learning be seen as sufficiently distinct from more formal, established modes of education to attract a non-traditional clientele?

It is noticeable that in constructing many of these new spaces of adult learning formal, collective and institutional discourses of education still prevail. Despite efforts to present the UfI as a 'new' and 'revolutionary' form of education (DfEE 1998b) the underlying terminology and even the adopted name belie this intention. To take the example of the 'University' for Industry – this choice of name reflected deeply rooted economic and political concerns over the kudos and status of the initiative, still apparent in the on-going, protracted battle over its re-titling. Even from an early pilot stage, the use of this name has been described by observers as a major disincentive to prospective participants (Morrison *et al.* 1999).

Some pioneers of 'virtual education' have been well aware of this potential barrier and argue that ICT-based learning must eschew any connotation of traditional educational institutions; preferring to use terms such as 'Virtual Learning Space'. As Tiffin and Rajasingham contend: "we wish to avoid the idea that the application of computer and communication technologies to education will mean a virtual version of educational systems as we know them now" (1995 : 10). Nevertheless, promotion of a 'University' for Industry or a Digital 'College' still retains an academic trapping regardless of their actual content and level of provision. It seems that the virtual college movement may be in danger of discarding one of its greatest assets in its choice of name. By portraying technology-based learning in terms of 'universities' and 'colleges', the movement may be alienating precisely those whose learning identities it wishes to alter. As we have already highlighted, the location of learning centres in existing institutions such as colleges and libraries compounds the problem of 'institutionalising' these learning opportunities as 'formal' and congruous to traditional education.

The importance of the social construction of spaces of adult learning is also reflected along regional and national lines. Evans (1989) cites the example of the Open University in Wales, in which the 'Welsh population' are considerably under-represented in comparison with English residents in Wales (in so far as it is possible to draw such a distinction). This is an indication, Evans argues, of the social and cultural distances between the Welsh population and what appears to them to be an English provider of education. It may be pertinent here to draw parallels with the on-going development of the Welsh *Coleg Digidol* which, at the moment, appears to be constructed and presented as a primarily Welsh language concern(4) If this is so, and given the specific geographical and social composition of the Welsh speaking population, it will be interesting to see whether this construction of on-line learning is effective in reaching its largest target of English-speaking, working class adults in the South Wales region. For in South Wales, where 75% of the population lives, Welsh speakers are in a minority with perhaps as few as 1% of households speaking Welsh (Gorard 1998). These households are, in general more highly educated and better paid than average (Giggs and Pattie 1994), and their occupants have been seen as forming a specifically 'Welsh class' or self-privileging status group (Fevre *et al.* 1997). These are not, in general, the individuals revealed by previous research as isolated from lifelong learning. Such concerns highlight, as Evans concludes, that:

> a critical awareness of the social and cultural factors of place and distance is [essential] in the thinking and practices of distance educators. Otherwise such operations will be effective for only those people who are already able to make the necessary connections and those who are relatively powerless will remain outside (1989 : 181).

iii) Spaces for learning what?

If we are to move on from issues of access and attractiveness, what form can we expect on-line learning to take? Moreover, will technology-based education lead to a broadening or homogenising of learning? It is often stated that technologically-based learning will lead to a broadening of opportunities to learn, with individuals no longer constrained by the limitations of local education provision and curricula. As a 'gateway to the world' on-line access is seen as opening individuals' prospective sources of learning to a global level. As our early example of virtual education suggested there is nothing in theory to stop individuals in Swansea learning with Stanford University or those in Aberdare learning with colleges in Adelaide. It is implied that this will expand the diversity of courses and subjects on offer. Yet initial on-line provision of learning has been anything but broad. The 'curricula' of many of the early UfI pilots were little more than IT skills provision and the signs are that, as it progresses, the focus on business needs and 'employability' may do little to extend the scope of adult learning.

Yet it has been reasoned that, in reality, broadening learning is not the role of adult education; whether technology-based or not. As much of the rhetoric surrounding the UfI suggests, one primary objective of extending lifelong learning is to strengthen Britain's workforce and economic productiveness. This mirrors the argument that the 'technologising' of adult learning is little more than a mechanism for aligning personal conduct with governments' socio-political objectives of labour market control (Edwards, 1994). The focus of these new forms of lifelong learning is firmly on the needs of the workplace and UK businesses. However, this in turn poses fundamental questions. Will a commercially-dependent virtual college movement lead to a widening of skills or merely a concentration on the narrow base of business-friendly 'core skills' and 'key competencies', thus focusing attention simply on those who are employed or currently employable?

From a more practical perspective, it may also be argued that technology-based educational provision is more conducive to certain types of learning over others. Is on-line learning, therefore, technically capable of effectively maintaining, or even widening, the breadth of adult learning opportunities? A popular assertion is that telecommunications technology significantly broadens a learner's access to learning opportunities. Thus, information networks can "bring the world to the learner"; facilitating access to people and resources around the world. The £50million programme currently taking place to digitise all of Britain's museum and library artefacts is a good example of this, with the argument that learners will enjoy 'easy access' to Britain's 'rich human history and influential material culture' (SCRAN 1998).

Yet, it can be strongly argued that 'virtual' learning is not the same as 'real-life' learning (Selwyn 1999a, 1999b, Newman and Johnson, 1999) – appearing to be more about knowledge dissemination than a genuinely transformative process. Indeed, some academic proponents of ICT-based distance learning recognise its limitations for delivering all types of learning. As De Kerckhove (1997) concedes, at best ICT enhances rather than replaces 'real-life' learning. For example, in many learning situations reliance on the 'virtual' rather than the 'real' ignores the uniqueness of educational processes that are fundamentally altered once they are digitised and delivered on-line. As Zuboff reasoned, ICT "produces a voice that symbolically renders events, objects and processes so that they become visible, knowable and sharable in a new way" (1988 : 376). Yet this 'new way' of experiencing events, objects and processes is not always a better way – or even adequate substitute – for those methods that have gone before, and remains open to the charge of providing a very superficial educational experience(5).

Conclusion

If, as Evans (1989) asserts, adult learning is about 'choreographing' a host of personal and collective movements in time and space then ICT-based education, in theory, certainly offers increased flexibility to both learner and provider. However, can it be argued that this flexibility of space will necessarily lead to the over-coming of social inequalities and traditional barriers of space that have beset participation in adult learning in the past? As we have contested, technologically-based learning may simply modify the importance of space and place to participation in adult learning rather than rendering it irrelevant. As Morely and Robins (1995) argue: "the particularly of place and culture can never be done away with, can never be transcended. Globalisation is, in fact, also associated with new dynamics of re-localisation". On-line space is intrinsically linked to 'real-life' space; information obtained on the Internet is only as useful as the locale where it is to be utilised (Kitchin, 1998). More importantly, access to technology-based learning is inherently related to the spaces that learners inhabit. The notion of creating democratic learning spaces for all would not appear sustainable.

These are early days for the virtual college movement, but observation of the ongoing work towards the simultaneous objectives of widening participation and improving economic readiness suggests that existing tensions between them will not ameliorate whatever the method of delivery. As with previous attempts to create a greater 'learning society' (Gorard *et al.* 1998), it is likely that the social justice agenda will, in time, be subverted by the economic imperative. Space is still relevant as a determinant of participation, and to ignore that fact may lead to further inequalities and so hasten the subversion.

Notes

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2. Here 'on-line learning' refers to computer-based applications such as the Internet as well as video-conferencing, Digital television and other interactive multimedia

3. We are grateful to Patrick White for first drawing our attention to this observation. The *quality* of access to telecommunications networks is not generally considered when discussing the permeation of technology through-out the population – however the 'churn' of domestic technology should be an important consideration. A popular guideline from the IT industry, referred to as 'Moore's Law', states that computer-technology is effectively superseded every 18 months. Moreover, as well as speed of connectivity, the range of on-line resources that are accessible through a 486 PC with an external modem and telephone line is far more restricted than what can be accessed via a 'state-of-the-art' machine. When logging onto the Internet the ability of your computer to support 'frames', Java scripts or download video and audio files all effect the nature and extent of the on-line experience.

4. As with many organisations in Wales the Coleg Digidol is strictly run on bi-lingual lines; yet there are emerging signs of its Welsh language origins. For example, at the time of writing the Coleg Digidol website remained only accessible via its Welsh form. It is also significant that S4C (the Welsh fourth TV channel) is a major partner in Coleg Digidol. S4C, despite broadcasting [illegible] both English and Welsh, has been criticised for its lack of penetration into English speaking parts of Wales (i.e. the majority of South East Wales); where it continues to be perceived as a Welsh language broadcast.

5. The notion of creating on-line spaces where learners around the world can interact and learn with each other is another popular assertion of the virtual education movement. The concept of on-line learning facilitating 'communities' of learners brought together by commonality of interest rather than by accident of geography remains a pervasive argument. However, the 'social' dimensions of learning on-line are questionable. As Jones (1997) argues, on-line communities should be more accurately seen as parallel, rather than serial, groupings of people – not necessarily connected but heading independently in the same direction for a time.

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SCUTREA-99: Session B 3: Monday 5th July 16.00 - 17.30 Chair: Darol Cavanagh

Title

More participation, less access?

Author

Steele, Tom

Abstract

Successive pronouncements on Widening Participation (WP) have used the rhetoric of inclusion and social equity. Successive reports have laid emphasis on the social inequity of the prevailing system in which a disproportionately high number of entrants from the families of the professional and higher occupations contrast with very low participation from manual labouring families. However, Dearing's main solution to this problem and to an extent supported by Kennedy, was that expansion in HE should take place at a sub-degree level with special emphasis on the FE sector. The inference that could be drawn was that the lower orders should get some Higher Education but probably not the same three or four year residential stretch in a distant university, their more privileged peers might receive. Several other policy decisions were made which appeared less 'inclusive'. Firstly, the government followed its predecessor's policy of phasing out maintenance grants and offering loans in their place. Nor did the government restore the mature students allowance phased out two years earlier. On top of this it followed the lead of many other countries of imposing tuition fees, the cumulative effect of which has almost certainly been to disaffect lower income families especially. Recruitment of mature students and those from lower social groups has actually fallen. So, is widening participation really only concealing another kind of exclusion? Is the subtext of the government agenda for the lower social orders, the Labour Party's historic constituency, that they are welcome to HE so long, more or less, as they accept it in small portions, on a part time basis or, if full time, then probably not at a university? Community educators have suggested that one reason people do not participate in education is because they do not want to. They've no use for the qualifications on offer because they don't teach them anything they want to know, no 'really useful knowledge'. Their refusal of this form of participation may be a form of resistance to what is, in effect, a new form of management by dissent by educationally occupying the excluded. Are Adult Educators, therefore, being sucked into government policies of managing unequal access to a relatively unreconstructed elitist system, while being discouraged from dialogue with those excluded over curriculum innovation, transformative processes and an emancipatory agenda that transcends individual progression?

Notes

Papers presented at the 29th Annual SCUTREA Conference July 5 - July 7 1999. University of Warwick

Adult Education goes back to the future: history meets high-tech in the workplace

Rosemary Taylor, University of British Columbia, Canada

Paper presented at SCUTREA, 29th Annual Conference, 5-7 July 1999, University of Warwick

Introduction

Where is adult education located, we are asking ourselves, and at the opening of a new millennium, where does adult learning take place? On the surface, those questions look innocent enough, but they fuel the ongoing debate of the differences between education and learning, and the roles they play in our society. Historically, in the developed world, education has implied formal acquisition of intellectual and often credentialled knowledge provided through organized institutions, whereas learning is ubiquitous, pervasive, often uncredentialled, and frequently unacknowledged. Moreover, society has often placed greater value on knowledge acquired through formal education, than on learning gained in everyday life.

As we enter the new millennium, our ideas of learning and education are becoming less rigid. We have learned, albeit almost incidentally, that we can no longer rely on past educational practices, which confined formal learning to one's early years, with the expectation that knowledge acquired at that time would last a lifetime. Now knowledge itself is changing so rapidly that education and learning are lifelong endeavours, whether it concerns the operation of gadgets in the home, keeping up with the latest computer technology, or surviving in a rapidly evolving workplace.

It is interesting to watch history almost repeating itself, not by coming full circle, but rather by spiralling forward through time. Intellectual education and the learning of practical skills were once separated by virtue of the fact that 'town and gown' rarely met. Different cultures and values grew around each; one was esoteric, philosophical and admired for its intellectual demands, while the other was necessary, ordinary, and the lot of the common person. Sons of the gentry were sent to e_ite institutions of higher education, where learning was a somewhat leisurely pursuit. Student and mentor may have walked and talked in the quiet calm of the college quadrangle, far removed from the worries of everyday life. The average citizen, on the other hand, probably learned a skill or trade through a different kind of mentorship, being apprenticed to a master craftsman for many years until fully able to work alone. In both instances, place shaped the learning occurring within it, and in the case of universities, learning requirements also shaped the space in which that learning took place. But while each of these forms of learning had, perhaps unintentionally, much in common, in that both were contextually and socially situated within their particular cultures, and were right for their times, neither impinged on the other, and a great divide developed between the two.

Paradigm shift in the industrial era

Although methods of teaching and learning took a dramatic turn in the industrial era, educational research and workplace requirements remained somewhat parallel. Previously, both intellectual knowledge and trade skills had been acquired holistically, through personal mentorship, situated in context, surrounded by their relevant cultures, and appropriate for the times. Now learning became removed from the context in which it would be applied, and involved working through a series of small, carefully planned segments, whether the eventual objective was academic knowledge or vocational skills.

As education was becoming a field of study in its own right during the industrial era, research concentrated on psychological and behavioural aspects of learning, following methodology of the

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natural sciences. By conducting learning research in laboratory conditions, where it was assumed that the process could be isolated from external impacts, it was determined that learning was made manifest by a change in behaviour, and specific desired objectives could be taught in small, progressive, linear steps.

At the same time, industrialisation ushered in the need for large scale workplace training, while the division of labour simplified jobs to such an extent that each individual worker needed only very limited and specific skills. Thus the need to teach employees limited behavioural skills for repetitive manual work fell in neatly with current educational thinking that training programmes could be produced in small, simple, concise packages which met the requirements of both employers and employees. Training departments proliferated, vocational teaching moved into the classroom, and eventually apprenticeships started falling from favour.

Once again, educational methods and workplace demands coincided, but were now totally opposite from the mentorship and apprenticeships they replaced. Learning requirements definitely shaped the place in which teaching occurred, and the place, in turn, controlled the learning occurring within it. Classroom conditions impose behavioural constraints and remove unwanted distractions from the instructional process. Learning objectives became separated into independent areas of study, so that linkages between them were often tenuous at best, and the context in which learned skills were to be applied sometimes disappeared from sight. However, the underlying philosophy of technical rationalism justified the efficiency of streamlining the educational process in an era where a large workforce of compliant manual workers was required to keep production on the conveyor belts moving.

Although in industrial circumstances it was impractical to teach vocational skills on site, learning in the classroom did not necessarily translate into increased competence on the factory floor; the element of experiential learning, immersed in the social setting and culture of the trade had been removed, but this loss went almost unnoticed for quite some time. Whereas in earlier times there had been one large gap between intellectual learning and trade apprenticeships, now there were two significant gaps. One still remained between academic education and vocational learning, but a second one appeared between the classrooms in which trade skills were taught, and the workplaces in which they were to be applied.

Recent studies in situated learning show that context, culture and environment play an important role in the learning process, and are almost impossible to re-create in classroom conditions, so now, as the industrial era gives way to the information age, learning in the workplace is making a come-back, with a high-tech twist.

Learning for the information age

Although many industrial workplaces are now becoming high-tech, this particular discussion concerns small, entrepreneurial businesses in which knowledge, services, and small component parts are the main end products. As before, when educational thinking and industrial learning needs seemed to coincide to an uncanny degree, an economic shift from production of goods to production of services is also coincident with the adoption of a 'new' educational paradigm. In fact, we are returning to the past, where vocational learning is, of necessity in leading edge circumstances, once again based in the workplace.

A great deal of research has taken place over the years into the learning process, but more often in the area of formal and organized education, rather than the ordinary, everyday accumulation of knowledge through informal, incidental or even tacit means. However, since the 1980s, a growing interest has developed in situated cognition, discovering how people learn in the course of their daily lives (Chaiklin & Lave, 1993; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995; Rogoff & Lave, 1984). Far from isolating the learning process in a laboratory in order to exclude 'contaminants', as psychologists used to do, it is now acknowledged that context, culture and the social environment all interact to create, condition and constrain the learning that takes place. Everyday learning is a very complex and little understood process, and ongoing research in the field of situated cognition clearly indicates how place shapes learning, and learning in turn shapes place.

A new twist to the learning process is that we not only need to know what to learn, but it is becoming increasingly important to know how to learn, and for this we have to make explicit and visible the scaffolding or structure on which the learning process depends. It is acknowledged that there are many different individual learning styles, depending on personal preference, but it is perhaps less well known that environmental cues are also important not only in the initial learning process, but in the ability to transfer knowledge from one situation to another. This, it is felt, is one reason why vocational skills learned in the classroom may not be clearly connected with real-life situations, when intervening factors may blur the situation and make it appear different. Not only is it necessary to have a basic toolkit of educational skills at hand, but coping with new situations which have not been met before demands flexibility, the ability to innovate, think creatively, and problem solve, making use of what is available at that particular time and place. It is also necessary to observe this learning process as it takes place, so that it can be recalled again, as circumstances dictate.

Learning how to observe learning in progress is quite a challenge. One way to do this is through a mentorship in which tacit knowledge is surfaced by thinking out loud as cognitive processes are in action. Since this is not part of our usual practice, it may be very difficult to articulate why and how known facts, environmental cues, gut feelings and previous knowledge are all combined in order to interpret the present. This process normally takes place almost instantaneously and sometimes apparently without much deep thought or reflection in order to make a rapid decision. It is not always possible to allow time to make well-considered judgments, life's events often demand that the right reaction to a situation is immediate if danger is to be avoided. Even where more time can be spent in assessing the situation, there are still many unacknowledged factors involved in any cognitive process.

Adult education and the learning organisation

The small, high-tech entrepreneurial workplace is bringing together many of the theories and practices of the past, and combining them to create the future. In such situations both the student/mentor and the master/apprentice roles exist, but they are interchangeable and spread over a wide network of individuals which extends well beyond any one specific work site. Small firms are often enveloped in a very large network of suppliers, customers and end users, all of whom form one extensive community-of-practice (Brown & Duguid, 1991). Research conducted in 1997 (UBC Centre for Policy Studies in Education) showed both academic and everyday learning occurring continuously and interactively in these situations, thus blending the two areas which had drifted so far apart in earlier years.

The learning environment in small firms begins with the founding members and the ground rules they establish. Most people in high-tech are well educated, having at least an undergraduate degree, and possibly more, but there are also employees who have minimal educational credentials, whose constant curiosity and years of practical experience are a valuable addition to the knowledge base. In this vibrant environment, learning is a continual and ongoing activity, whether it is through conversation round the coffee pot, or organized in-house seminars to share the latest product development, bring back knowledge recently acquired through conference presentations, or to discuss the latest trade show. In these situations people are both students and mentors at the same time, in what would now be referred to as a 'cognitive apprenticeship'.

But learning in these situations is not all theoretical and abstract. Products must be brought to market, whether they are goods or services, and in many cases these small, entrepreneurial firms are working in conjunction with a larger corporation, supplying a specialized component part for the final product. Theory must be applied, which demands a certain ability to construct a working model, and prototypes must be tested before they can go any further. Even at this stage some firms are very creative about the way they test their products, using every available resource within their workforce to give a new product a real-life workout. Learning organizations learn as they go, documenting that learning process so that it becomes an accessible data bank for future reference.

Because many high-tech companies are on the leading edge, creating the knowledge which everyone else will be using in the future, there is no continuing education available to them, no-one has yet written a manual that they can follow, they are the ones who are writing it for others. Thus, learning here must be self-directed, and is the ultimate demonstration of situated cognition, where learning not only creates the work context, but the demands of this type of work also create the need for constant learning. Innovation, on which small firms depend, results from curiosity, the ability to see things in a new light, and the interaction of resources and the environment.

Shared spaces

Although the corporate world and adult education may not at first glance appear to have much in common, this paper suggests that in fact they have always shared many theories and practices. Yawning chasms between them have resulted from the very different values attached to intellectual knowledge and practical skills, and the very opposite cultures surrounding them, but it can be seen that in previous eras adult education has done much to inform workplace training, and the needs of the workplace have run parallel to educational practices at the time.

In moving from the industrial era to the information age, both education and workplace practices have, paradoxically, evolved to the point where we are almost back where we began, but further ahead at the same time. Before education became situated in formal institutions and was made freely available to all, learning for most people involved obtaining practical experience under the guidance and tutelage of an expert in the workplace. One learned a complete trade or profession, not just a small part of it in isolation from the whole, as happened during the industrial age. A broad education was felt to be better preparation for life than concentration on highly specialized knowledge with limited application, and life was not compartmentalized into well separated areas of study.

Now we are seeing holistic learning through a variety of theoretical lenses. In adult education, Jarvis (1987) talks of adult learning in a social context, while in the workplace, learning in a social context is often through participation in an informal community-of-practice. Argyris & Schön (1978) promote the idea of single and double loop learning in the business setting, which is referred to in in adult education terms as reactive and proactive learning, or praxis, which is reflection on action. Bandura's social learning theory (1977) states that behaviour, personal factors and environmental factors are all interlocking determinants of each other, which translated into high-tech workplace practice becomes the way in which interpersonal dynamics interact with the physical and psychological surroundings to create a learning situation in which serendipitous environmental factors loom large.

Learning in these small and very active workplaces depends on two major components; who brings what knowledge into the group, and how people interact together both on a personal and an intellectual level. Reasonable diversity of the knowledge base is essential. Since the 'assimilation of knowledge is a function of the richness of the pre-existing knowledge structure' and 'learning is greatest when the object of learning is related to what is already known' (Cohen & Levinthal, 1990:131) the wider the knowledge 'catchment area' offered by a group of people, the greater the prospect that incoming information will relate to what is already known. It also provides opportunities for linking old knowledge in new ways, which is the basis upon which innovation and creativity depend.

Back to the future

Today's ever changing workplace not only requires a sound educational background, it also involves a constant exchange of knowledge at an informal level, where people are motivated, self-directed, and able to think and act creatively and independently. Corporate structures are in many cases moving away from hierarchic, bureaucratic organisation to a more open, flexible management style, giving individuals more autonomy in what they do. Training is being re-programmed to become more learner oriented, teamwork and job rotation are increasing employers' learning expectations of their employees, and greater informality in the workplace helps to increase the flow of information both vertically and horizontally between peers and management. Even dress codes in many places are being substantially relaxed, or have almost ceased to exist.

Previously, one individual would become apprenticed to another, learning a trade skill holistically, building up knowledge from simple beginnings until the whole process was familiar from start to finish. The exchange of knowledge took place on the job, in the course of making a product for sale, not as an artificial re-creation of reality, which was what learning in trade schools had become. In the high-tech work world little of the old-fashioned apprenticeship can remain, because everyone is learning together while crossing unknown territory, charting new frontiers of knowledge; but at the same time everyone is a master of some areas while still being an apprentice in others. However, skills and knowledge are constantly being shared between peers, and peers extend not only to immediate colleagues, but to a wide ranging network of those who are advisors, suppliers, customers, and end users.

Communities-of-practice now exist not just within a firm, but stretch across many firms which are all involved in creating or using the eventual end product. Knowledge and information is exchanged through factual information, anecdotes, general conversation, and 'war stories', all of which contribute to the ongoing brainstorming process from which the next iteration or innovation will emerge. Those involved in any one particular community-of-practice also have their own individual networks with which they interact, and so the 'network of networks' extends far and wide, and is another way of bringing diversity of knowledge into the workplace. Even these more distant networks can be extended still further, as ‘virtual communities-of-practice’ can now exchange information through the Internet, so that access to knowledge is now almost infinite.

Summary

The theory and practice of adult education and workplace learning have been through several swings and shifts together. Although not known as 'situated cognition' at the time, early intellectual and skills learning both occurred through the appropriate mentorships, but this was long before the process of learning became a field of academic study. In the early days of educational study, research modelled on scientific methodology focused on understanding learning from a behavioural point of view, while the dominant mode of production of goods depended on extreme division of labour, requiring the development of human capital to carry out repetitive work quickly and efficiently. Here was the ideal place to practice the educational theories of the day, that learning was manifested by a change in behaviour, resulting in the development of training programmes which could teach workers how to perform specific tasks, without needing to know why, or how their tasks related to any other in the conveyor-belt process. Cognitive skills were often neither encouraged, nor taught.

Now we are deliberately re-visiting history, knowingly re-instating what we unknowingly removed as education became formalised and decontextualised. We are abandoning the rules governing who teaches and who learns, and realize that most of us are constantly students, and frequently teachers, as we share knowledge with each other formally, informally, incidentally, experientially, tacitly and through socialization. Anyone who has ever taught another, whether formally or not, will acknowledge that teaching is as much a learning experience for the teacher as for the student. We are returning to seeing education, training and lifelong learning as a continuum, or an ongoing spiral connecting all aspects of life. Artificial boundaries between disciplines are being removed, knowledge is constructed and contextual, and old educational practices are coming back in new ways which are relevant to the information age rather than the industrial era.

The yawning chasm which once existed between the worlds of adult education and adult employment is rapidly becoming a fertile plain of shared ideas, where seeds and soil wash down from the hills of education on one side, and business on the other, bringing them closer together, joined by common ground which is easily crossed.

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Mythologies of Adult/Continuing/Lifelong Education

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Introduction

Like all disciplines or fields of study, adult/continuing/lifelong education has its own traditions, assumptions, practices and beliefs. This is not, of course, to say that these beliefs are shared equally by all who work within the field, or that they are unchanging. The very way in which I have chosen to label the field suggests something of the evolving and contested nature of its territory. Simply put, and historically framed, adult education and educators might be said to favour participatory learning for its own sake, while continuing education added a concern with accreditation, updating and retraining, and lifelong education is now shifting the focus to cover all learning throughout life (Tight 1999).

Despite these differences in perspective, it may be argued that those who occupy the territory of adult/continuing/lifelong education do, perhaps to a large extent, share similar understandings about the way things are and why that is so. While these understandings usually remain unexpressed or implicit – adult/continuing/lifelong education is, after all, only poorly mapped as a field of study when compared with more established disciplines (Becher 1989) – they are no less strong because of that.

The purpose of this paper is to identify and analyze a selection of these traditions, assumptions, practices and beliefs as *myths* (cf. Hughes and Tight 1995).

> A myth is a kind of story told in public, which people tell one another; they wear an air of ancient wisdom, but that is part of their seductive charm… myth's own secret cunning means that it pretends to present the matter as it is and always must be. (Warner 1994, p. 13)

To term something a myth is not, then, the same as saying that it is a delusion or fantasy (though it may be). Rather myths are powerful and revered ways of knowing aspects of our world; indeed, so powerful and revered that questions about their relative 'truth' or 'falsity' are not usually on the agenda for those promoting or living the myth.

Myths are also endemic:

> There is no dimension of individual and collective life that is not regulated or inspired by myth. Hence, as a microcosm of the social order and of the individual's inner life, myth provides meaning: it is the horizon that surrounds all aspects of life. (Hegy 1991, : 7)

Thus, for example, older myths about origins and heroes were supplanted, in the modern world, by myths of progress and opportunity. Now, in less certain times, we continue to live by a diversity of myths, ranging from the big bang to Gaia, and from spiritualism to extra-terrestial salvation.

Adult/continuing/lifelong education also has its myths and mythologies. As a field of study and practice, it has a (contested) structure, ideology and purpose: this conference is, of course, further evidence of this. And while, as academics, we may be more critical and reflective than most believers, a good deal of our shared mythologies necessarily goes unchallenged for much of the time. By recognizing these as mythologies, we should, however, be better positioned to deconstruct them by paying attention to their narrative and characterization.

The remainder of this paper is organized in three main sections. First, four key myths within adult/continuing/lifelong education are identified and discussed. Second, as a disruptive device, four *counter-myths*, articulations of contrary beliefs, are proposed and explored. Finally, some conclusions are drawn on the exercise as a whole.

Myths

Four key myths within adult/continuing/lifelong education will be identified in this section for discussion:

- Adults are 'volunteers' for learning
- Education/learning/training is 'good' for you
- All participation in education/learning/training is of value
- The underlying aim of adult/continuing/lifelong education is to produce independent, self-directed learners

This is, of course, a personal selection: you might wish to alter or delete some of them, or add others. The myths chosen also overlap to some extent. Taken together, they produce a fairly consistent picture of what the field is like, or, at least, of one, inevitably partial, perspective on this. However, most, if not all, of those working within the field should be aware of and familiar with these myths, whether they believe in them or not, and with some of the issues that arise from them.

Adults are 'volunteers' for learning. *Volunteers for Learning* was the title of a pioneering American survey of participation in adult education (Johnstone and Rivera 1965). On this side of the Atlantic, a similar title, *Choosing to Learn*, was later used for much the same purpose (Woodley et al 1987). The myth being promoted here builds on the observation that children and youths have to participate in education and training: schooling is compulsory up until a certain age, and attendance at training sessions may also be mandatory for both those in and out of paid work. Adults, by contrast, are portrayed as making a conscious and free choice to engage in learning. The model of adult presented is clearly one with a fairly stable work and family life, who, viewing a realm of possibilities for expending their time and money, sees the innate value and pleasure of learning.

This myth has a long and varied lineage. In this country, we can trace it through, for example, the Victorian Mechanics' Institutes, the London external degree, university extension and extra-mural provision, the tutorial class and post-war community development initiatives. Indeed, the entire history of British adult education may be presented as the story of heroic individuals and groups who have put themselves out to further their education (Kelly 1992). There has often, of course, been a strong vocational overtone to this, of men – and it usually has been men, preferably working or lower middle class – seeking to better themselves so as to improve their own, and their families', life chances. The adult educator's perspective, by contrast, has tended to emphasize the value of learning for its own sake, as the motor driving the adult towards Maslow's self actualization.

Education/learning/training is 'good' for you. If participation in adult learning is voluntary, the corollary is that it must also, almost inevitably, be 'good' for you. Take, for example, the rhetoric of the government's recent consultative paper, *The Learning Age*:

> Learning is the key to prosperity – for each of us as individuals, as well as for the nation as a whole. Investment in human capital will be the foundation of success in the knowledge-based global economy of the twenty-first century... As well as securing our economic future, learning has a wider contribution. It helps make ours a civilized society, develops the spiritual side of our lives and promotes active citizenship. (Secretary of State for Education and Employment 1998, p. 7)

This is a very broad myth. Learning is not only 'good' for you as an individual, but for the economy and for society; and, by extension, for your family, organization and community as well.

Such beliefs are endemic to our behaviour as educators of adults. While we may take great care in assessing the needs of individual adults, and in finding and enabling access to the most appropriate educational, training or learning activities, we rarely pause (partly, no doubt, because we have so little time) to question whether learning is the answer to every need. For every situation an adult finds themselves in, there is an appropriate learning response. Thus, the adult learning curriculum may be portrayed as based on the needs of life roles, stages and transitions: e.g. entry to the labour market, job changes, retirement, marriage, childcare, divorce and death (McCoy 1977). Just take the course, and you'll not only cope but come to understand and rise above any difficulties you encounter.

All participation in education/learning/training is of value. This myth follows fairly directly from the first two, and, together, they constitute a triumvirate of basic tenets for educators of adults. All learning, freely chosen and entered into, is enriching and is bound to come in handy some day. Not only that, but all kinds of learning are inter-related and the more you learn the better you get at it. As adult educators and learners, we celebrate this diversity each year during Adult Learning Week, awarding prizes to examples of the most persistent, innovative or deserving adult learners.

Two contemporary examples will serve to illustrate the prevalence of this myth. First, the kind of education provided by universities has been both criticized and warmly embraced as 'useless', except in so far as it trained the mind or prepared students to become academics themselves (O'Hear 1988; cf. the 19th century radical adult education tradition of 'really useful' knowledge: Johnson 1979). By contrast, considerable emphasis is now placed on the identification of the 'transferable skills', such as problem-solving and group-working, produced by degree study, which will be of general use in working life (Bradshaw 1992). Second, the employee development programmes launched by Ford and other companies during the 1990s have commonly laid emphasis on the provision of funds for employees to engage in almost any kind of learning activity (Forrester, Payne and Ward 1995). Academic, leisure and vocational learning are increasingly seen as inter-penetrating and of equal value, each contributing much to adult development (McGivney 1992).

The underlying aim of adult/continuing/lifelong education is to produce independent, self-directed learners. The idea that adult learners were intrinsically, and/or desired to be, independent and self-directed became prevalent from the 1970s onwards, popularized through the writings of authors such as Knowles and Tough (Knowles 1970, Tough 1971). Emphasis was placed on the need to start from where the individual was, to respect and make use of their existing experience, to acknowledge and give credit for the amount of learning they had undertaken on their own, and to tailor subsequent learning activities carefully to their specific interests. More recently, this myth can be seen as informing ideas about action and experiential learning, and well as 'learning to learn' initiatives.

In essence, this myth is, of course, just another version of the master/apprentice model. As successful educators of adults – or, at least, ones who are managing or aspiring to hold down some sort of job in this field – we see our role as being to replicate ourselves. We are fairly independent and self-directing, if not, perhaps, quite yet self-actualized, see this as a desirable state of being, and believe that we can and should bring others to this state. The role of educators of adults is, then, not so much to 'teach', but rather to help adults through a series of appropriate learning activities, to act as a guide and resource person; in short, to be a facilitator (Brookfield 1986). By re-casting teachers and trainers in this way, and seeing the adult learner as on their way to full independence in learning, the facilitator/learner relationship may be portrayed as a partnership, operating to mutual benefit.

Counter-Myths

As already indicated, the four myths identified in the previous section are not universally believed by all adult/continuing/lifelong educators. They are open to critique. In this section, I propose to provide something of an unsettling critique by deliberately setting out, for each myth, an opposing or counter-myth. We have, therefore, four counter-myths:

- Engagement in adult/continuing/lifelong learning is becoming a compulsory activity
- Education/learning/training commonly has unsettling or deleterious effects on those participating

in it

- Some kinds of education/learning/training are valued much more highly than others
- Educators and trainers are in the business of 'addicting' learners to their wares.

Engagement in adult/continuing/lifelong learning is becoming a compulsory activity. The myth of adults as volunteers for learning seemed to fit quite well in the immediate post-war decades. Then, education and training were essentially confined to childhood and adolescence (the now derided and revoltingly named 'front end' model), the stable nuclear family was seen as the norm, and jobs could be 'for life'. Now, however, in the language of what has been called 'fast capitalism' (Lankshear et al 1997), we are led to expect multiple or 'portfolio' working careers, and to undergo regular updating and retraining, or perhaps continuing professional development. In terms of the identity of the field, adult education has been supplanted by continuing education, which is now being subsumed within lifelong learning.

In effect, learning has been re-located within adults' lives. Adult learning, or at least certain types or aspects of it, has been shifted from its position within 'spare' or leisure time and placed as part of work or a new form of work in its own right (Tight 1998a). As such, it is becoming effectively compulsory, at least for those in work or seeking work. Not only that, but the responsibility for finding the time for work-related learning, and for funding it, is being shifted increasingly on to individual adults:

> Public financial support for learners should be designed to: bring back into learning those who stopped after leaving school; address particular shortages; widen access for those who are disadvantaged; and enable individuals to choose the method of learning that suits them best. For other adults, the main responsibility will rest with them and their employers. (Secretary of State for Education and Employment 1998, p. 26)

Those who don't engage in appropriate adult/continuing/lifelong education risk exclusion from the mainstream economy and society.

Education/learning/training commonly has unsettling or deleterious effects on those participating in it. One consequence of the growing compulsion to participate in adult/continuing/lifelong education has been the interest in the experience of those, particularly women, returning to learn and to work. There is now a substantial literature in this area (for example, Pascall and Cox 1993). In a modern parallel to the earlier myth of the heroic working-class man engaging in adult education in his spare time, this presents the heroic woman as striving, but struggling, to cope with the many and conflicting demands of family, work and learning.

What this literature also makes clear, however, is that the experience of engaging in education/learning/training as an adult is not necessarily beneficial, and may indeed be harmful. As 'Educating Rita' (Russell 1981) showed, participating in adult learning may lead to the break-up of your marriage and family (as it may, of course, that of the adult educator). It may cause considerable personal stress, as the individual is forced to re-consider and adapt their existing beliefs to encompass new understandings. Meaningful learning is meant to be challenging and unsettling, as learning theory suggests, but many learners are neither prepared nor able to cope with this.

Further, success in education/learning/training brings no guarantee of economic or other reward. Learning does not invariably pay. While there are many rate-of-return analyses which indicate the precise financial return – to the individual and to society as a whole – which might be expected from completing given levels of education (for example, Psacharopoulos 1987), these are retrospective averages. There is a risk involved in making such investments in learning. Some will not find that new job or gain promotion. And, as the relative success of successive government initiatives for re-training the unemployed makes clear, many will not get any job.

Some kinds of education/learning/training are valued much more highly than others. The strength of this counter-myth may seem self-evident from the preceding discussion, but its pervasiveness is worth emphasizing. While the (first) quote from the government's consultative paper, *The Learning Age*, linked learning with spirituality, that was the only place it was mentioned. All of the policy initiatives that were then outlined had as their primary purpose the improvement of the national skills and qualification base, and its application to the economy. These initiatives included, for example, expanding further and higher education participation, creating the University for Industry, setting up individual learning accounts, and increasing funding for adult literacy and numeracy development.

This focus on vocationally oriented education and training is, of course, by no means new. It is one that has been shared by all British, and many other, governments throughout this century. It is also both understandable and justifiable: education and training does contribute, directly and indirectly, to the economy; and, without a healthy economy, there might seem little purpose in discussing adult/continuing/lifelong education policy more generally. The point is, however, that, almost regardless of the state of the British economy, non-vocational forms of education, training and learning are seldom discussed in national policy terms and receive little funding. In short, they are poorly valued by comparison with vocational education and training; and not just by government and employers, but by many individuals as well (Tight 1998b).

Educators and trainers are in the business of 'addicting' learners to their wares. Students looking for definitions of specialist terms commonly turn to the dictionary for guidance, though we may urge them to at least consult a good dictionary. If you look up 'student' in the second edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which is, famously, organized on historical principles, one of the oldest definitions given is 'a person who is engaged in or addicted to study'.

The notion of learning as a drug on a par with alcohol, tobacco or heroin may, at first, seem a little dubious. But adult learning is 'a business', and educators of adults operate in a competitive marketplace, in which their survival depends upon their attracting sufficient custom. The whole dynamic of continuing education and lifelong learning is to produce and serve regular, even compulsive, customers. From this perspective, we don't really want to create independent and self-directed learners. What we want are learning junkies, people who will start on an access course and keep going until they get their PhD, people who will haunt the company open learning centre, people who will enrol for an evening class faithfully every term.

Conclusions

What, then, might we learn from this brief examination of some of the myths and counter-myths which inform adult/continuing/lifelong education? Without becoming embroiled in debate about the relative truth or falsity of any of the positions that I have outlined, I will offer three main conclusions.

First, it is quite possible to view all of these myths and counter-myths as having some validity. It all depends upon the context: what learning and learners are being considered, and, most importantly, who is making the judgement.

Second, your perspective with regard to these, and other, myths and counter-myths will depend critically upon how you identify yourself in terms of adult education, continuing education, lifelong education or the many other available labels for our changing and confusing field.

Third, and finally, it seems highly appropriate that the kind of myths I have outlined may be readily linked with various of the 'gods' – regrettably, I can think of no 'goddesses' - of adult/continuing/lifelong education, such as Freire, Knowles and Tough. The counter-myths, by contrast, seem to be the product of mere mortals: politicians, employers and sceptical academics like me.

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Changing Spaces of Knowledge, (Dis)placing the Learner

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There seems now to be a heightened recognition of the significance of 'space' in contemporary social and cultural theory, associated with which is the increasing use of spatial metaphors in understanding the changing place of education and learning and the changing location of the academy in the contemporary moment. In this paper, we deploy these metaphors to more productively examine changes in knowledge and knowledge production that have been theorised in relation to new modes of learning and new types of learners. At the same time we also recognise that new modes of knowledge and new conceptions of the learner have foregrounded the visibility and relevance of space, place and position. Hence our emphasis in this paper on the changing 'spaces' of knowledge and the changing 'place' of the learner. We will focus particularly on the impact of these developments on the work of the academy and the changing role of academics in these changing spaces.

We ask initially - is it possible to talk of the changing 'spaces' of knowledge and knowledge production? In this context we will examine the influential arguments put forward by Gibbons et al (1994) about the increasing contemporary significance of work-based or 'socially distributed knowledge' as against academic (disciplinary) or 'culturally concentrated knowledge' (see also Luke 1996). If this is accepted then the increased significance of the former has profound implications in terms of research, curriculum and pedagogy for the academy as itself a work-site and latterly as a promoter of work-based learning awards.

One way of looking at this spatially would be in terms of academic or disciplinary knowledge as 'bounded' and 'inflexible' and socially distributed or work-based knowledge as 'unbounded' and 'flexible'. Whilst this is a useful way of looking at the contemporary situation, it is however over-simplistic, ignoring the complexities of socially distributed knowledge and the process by which work-based knowledge becomes validated in degree programmes – a credentialling process which itself raises 'subject(s)' and 'discipline(s)' issues. We argue that it is not so much that socially-distributed knowledge is unbounded, it's more rather that the boundaries are different - locally specific, more complex, more contested and more fluid but also involving a different kind of regulation, 'subject' and 'discipline'.

Increasingly, and particularly with the foregrounding of 'learning' as against 'education', there is a recognition that learning can take place in a multiplicity and diversity of sites. This recognition in itself challenges the educational 'spaces' and 'places' of enclosure traditionally constituted by the book, the curriculum and the classroom. Here, it is possible to foreground a number of aspects and a number of implications, particularly for the disciplinary text, the pre-determined disciplinary curriculum and the practice of studying for a fixed period of time with fixed starting and end points and within university-defined spaces. Thus it could be said that the educational spaces of enclosure are now being displaced - not only with different sites of learning but also with the onset of the coming together of information/ communication technologies (ICTs), their associated modes of computer-mediated communication, and consequent more flexible modes of organising and delivering learning.

Another, perhaps more radical, development is work-based learning which is not just a matter of studying in flexible mode but where the disciplinary curriculum and the university defined space of learning is displaced to make way for a curriculum sourced in the socially distributed knowledge of the workplace and where the workplace becomes the site of learning. This development which we shall examine in more detail later is only one, although perhaps the most significant, of a number of

developments that could be said to constitute a process where the 'student' as traditionally conceived is displaced by the 'learner', located in a variety of sites, and learning in a variety of 'displaced' ways. In this context it is also interesting to note that learners in work-based learning programs are being referred to as *participants* .
However, whilst this view again has its attractions, it could be argued that it is oversimplistic, neglecting as it does that displacement always involves new and different forms of 'placing'. It is in this sense that we believe it more helpful to talk of the (dis)placed learner – a learner who is simultaneously displaced and placed.

Finally, when talking of the (dis)placed learner in this sense we must also talk of the (dis)placed academic. New spaces of knowledge mean that academics now more so than before have to work both within and outside the academy – within both the traditional educational spaces and places of enclosure (which in certain respects have become more rigid, for example in research assessment) and the new and more fluid boundaries of the contemporary moment.

Knowledge - new modes, new spaces

Universities are witnessing an erosion of their status as primary producers of a particular (disciplinary) kind of knowledge and correspondingly of their monopoly position as certifiers of competence in knowledge production. These developments are both cause and consequence of changes in modes of knowledge production and in their relative valorisation.

With knowledge increasingly commodified and interlinked with performativity, knowledge production has begun to move out of the ivory tower and into the marketplace. Universities are fast becoming part of a wider and globalised knowledge market, forced to compete with RandD companies, consultants and think-tanks. Given the demands of performativity and the sheer explosion and disseminability of knowledge that characterises globalised conditions, they are now less able to control the production and exchange of knowledge and of access to it.

As we shall see in a moment, different kinds of knowledge are now being produced through the academy's forging of collaborative research partnerships with government, industry, and other organisations — collaborations which have forced academics to question conventional disciplines-sanctioned knowledge production. As Gibbons et al put it:

> … the parallel expansion in the number of potential knowledge producers on the supply side and the expansion of the requirement of specialised knowledge on the demand side are creating the conditions for the emergence of a new mode of knowledge production. (Gibbons et al 1994: 13)

Gibbons et al (1994) distinguish between two modes of knowledge production which they refer to as Mode 1 and Mode 2. Luke (1996: 7-10) distinguishes between 'culturally concentrated knowledge' (the outcome of Mode 1) and 'socially distributed knowledge' (the outcome of Mode 2). Mode 1 is defined as:

> a form of knowledge production - a complex of ideas, methods, values, norms - that has grown up to control the diffusion of the Newtonian model to more and more fields of enquiry and to ensure its compliance with what is considered sound scientific practice (Gibbons et al 1994: 2)

Mode 1 knowledge production is conducted by a disciplinary community. Culturally concentrated knowledge is those intellectual products produced and consumed inside traditional research-oriented universities. It is:

> tradition-bound in practice as well as conventional in form... produced on a campus by academic researchers in clearly demarcated scholarly disciplines to be transmitted first, to students in accredited degree programs or second, to clients in government, industry, or non-profit organisations through sponsored research contracts. (Luke 1996: 7)

Although Mode 2 is not exactly a new way of producing knowledge – and certainly socially distributed knowledge has been around for a while! - it is according to Gibbons et al becoming increasingly prevalent and is taking its place in significance alongside the traditional and hitherto dominant Mode 1. In contrast then to Mode 1, Mode 2, the outcome of socially distributed knowledge, is:

> an emergent gridwork of intellectual products increasingly produced and consumed outside of traditional university settings...it arises from a material context of very short-run corporate outsourcings, task-specific government contracts or entrepreneurial venture capital start-ups. (Luke 1996: 7)

Mode 2 knowledge production is characterised by being produced in the context of application - it has to be useful to someone in a contemporary situation where the sources of supply and demand for different forms of specialised knowledge are diverse and where the market process defines contexts of application. Furthermore it is heterogeneous in terms of the skills deployed, transdisciplinary in the sense that it cuts across conventional disciplinary structures, and is located in a multiplicity and diversity of sites.

Socially distributed knowledge has found its moment within the folds of globalisation. As Luke (1996) points out, the capacity of labour to process information and generate knowledge is increasingly seen as the source of productivity and of economic growth, with notions of the 'knowledge economy' gaining in popularity. Lash and Urry (1994) have referred to contemporary socio-economic processes as a 'reflexive accumulation' where knowledge, flexibility and symbol processing skills are key. In this contemporary economic environment, technological innovation becomes the means of keeping ahead - and technological innovation requires the generation and deployment of new and specialised knowledge - an applied, specific, transient and commodifiable knowledge oriented to the identification and solution of problems generated in the workplace.

The characteristics of Mode 2 knowledge production have certain implications and raise a number of important issues in thinking about the contemporary role and place of universities. First; the global growth of higher education with consequent increases in the output of graduates has led to more and more people becoming familiar with and competent in knowledge production. Here, although there remain important hierarchies in the production, reading and evaluation of knowledge it becomes no longer the preserve of a select group of academics. With the parallel growth of 'knowledge' and 'knowledge-based' industries many now work in ways which incorporate a research dimension but where the worksite is no longer the university. Thus knowledge production goes on outside disciplinary communities and in sites other than the university – although whether this research would be considered 'competent' in Mode 1 terms is a critically contested matter within the academy.

Second, there has been an expansion in the demand for specialised knowledge - a critical factor, as we have noted, in determining an organisation's comparative advantage. Organisations have now become involved in a complex array of collaborative arrangements that very often involve universities. Indeed it is possible to discern a reciprocal relationship developing with organisations seeking certain kinds of 'expertise' from universities and universities seeking certain kinds of knowledge from 'organisations'.

However, in Mode 2 knowledge production the focus is on application rather than contemplation. The current situation tends to be one where 'in Mode 1 terms… much of this Mode 2 knowledge is automatically suspect; partisan, non-objective, undisciplined, ad hoc, unsupported or unreliable' (Luke 1996: 9). Luke points out that culturally concentrated knowledge structures are mostly ill-adapted to producing the socially distributed knowledge needs of individuals as lifelong learners and organisations as learning organisations - although as he also points out universities should not necessarily be blamed for this nor need they apologise for continuing Mode 1 forms of knowledge production.

Indeed, it could be argued that Mode 2 knowledge production still needs Mode 1 and it is probably the case that Mode 2 researchers still need to be trained initially as Mode 1 researchers - hence perhaps the still important role universities have in research training and in building research capacity. The important point to note however is that what is involved here is not a matter simply of the most efficient and effective means of producing and disseminating knowledge but of the very *legitimacy* of different kinds of knowledge and modes of knowledge production.

It could be argued, therefore, that there has been a reworking of knowledge boundaries and a displacement of learning that is both cause and effect of the new spaces of knowledge. This redefining of the boundaries happens at a number of levels and all have a significant influence in re-shaping the identities of both learners and academics:

- at the theoretical/ discursive level, through for example, the very articulation of 'socially distributed knowledge' as a significant form of contemporary knowledge and its contrasting to 'culturally concentrated knowledge'; these articulations being part of a new discourse which displace learners by constituting contemporary learning as flexible and lifelong.

- at the institutional level through restructuring or realignment, e.g. creation of mega-faculties; disestablishment of departments within faculties.

- at the curricular level (e.g. double degrees and hybrid degrees such as the BA in International Studies at UTS and RMIT); increased use of ICTs and computer-mediated communication in the teaching and learning, development of work-based learning awards (we shall say more about this development in a moment).

Perhaps the best way to explore the displacements and the new boundary settings associated with the changing spaces of knowledge is by exemplification. We will do so by focusing on one innovative education development at one of our universities – the work-based learning (WBL) partnership program at UTS. This programme presents an interesting example of what we mean by the contemporary (dis)placement of learners and academics in relation to the new and more fluid boundaries, the new spaces of knowledge and new sites of learning within which these programs are positioned.

Workbased learning programs

In WBL partnership programmes the learning arrangement is a three-way contractual partnership between the university, the learner and her/ his employing organisation. As such these programmes represent a radical re-definition of what constitutes a university education. While partnerships between universities and organisations are becoming increasingly familiar, the nature of the learning arrangement in a WBL partnership programme is an innovative one because learners (or 'participants') study for a degree or a diploma primarily in their workplace through activities that arise from their everyday work activities. The study programme is therefore not based on conventional disciplines, courses or subjects nor is work a discrete or an integrated element of study within a larger university-based discipline-oriented programme. In a WBL partnership, work *is* the curriculum with individual learning programmes tied into the strategic goals of the participating organisation.

In WBL awards each participant designs a learning programme centred on their work responsibilities (frequently as defined in performance management agreements), identifying and naming areas of learning which are likely to have no immediate equivalence with university subjects. Thus the learning opportunities found in WBL programmes are not contrived for study purposes but arise from normal work. The role of the university becomes one of providing an enabling framework and a credentialling mechanism. Thus an organisation's employees are not only enabled to obtain a recognised (and marketable) qualification but also to develop lifelong learning skills – and to do this not through engagement with existing disciplines or bodies of knowledge and a programme defined by academics but through a curriculum which is unique to each as an individual learner and is at the same time both linked to the strategic goals of the organisation and is of direct benefit to it.

This kind of curriculum is indeed a challenge to the academy's view of the place of disciplinary knowledge. It is simply not possible to drop a body of disciplinary knowledge into a workplace and expect to sustain the same boundaries around it. Knowledge in the WBL curriculum is of the socially-distributed type, specific, applied, pragmatic and certainly neither generated by, nor responsible to the academic community. Rather the workplace, the individual learner and the university have to work together to produce and validate a non-disciplinary yet still 'legitimate' knowledge.

This shift presents an unprecedented challenge to dominant conceptions of what a university education is and what 'legitimate' knowledge should be. There are structural problems difficult to overcome in practice - WBL awards are based on socially-distributed knowledge – yet the validation of this knowledge is now being carried out in sites which traditionally have very different standards and conceptions of what constitutes legitimate knowledge. Academics are struggling with the shift—both conceptually and in their daily practice. Work-based learning raises questions about the role and identity of universities and of academics, and whether or not work-based learning is a vehicle for letting go of the very reason for their existence. Academics are confronting changes in curriculum ownership and the balance of power and control. They are trying to find answer to questions about the relationship of work performance outcomes and learning outcomes. They are wondering about the place of critical thinking and the theorisation of practice particularly in 'courses' of learning where learning outcomes are linked to pay packets. At the same time, the very notion of the workplace as a site of knowledge generation is a new and difficult one for the academy to come to grips with.

As indicated above, the WBL curriculum does not fit within conventional curriculum boundaries. At UTS the significance of the loss of these boundaries has emerged at the end of the first year of delivery. Discussions with both staff and 'participants' revealed a significant number of requests for clearer boundaries. Through this initial experience, a number of teaching, learning and assessment issues have emerged that are critical to the effective operationalisation of the concept of 'work as the curriculum'. The academic valuing of 'the curriculum in the workplace' (socially distributed knowledge) is a complex process that requires institutional resources and structures supporting this kind of teaching, learning and assessment. The partnership at a course level and the accompanying relationship of work and learning, between being a worker and a learner, between the educational institution and the workplace has meant that the organisation of learning and the assessment of this learning requires a very particular set of boundaries (in relation to resources and processes). While these need to be located within the educational framework of conventional university-based courses, they also require a different slant, a different shaping and thus different resources, in order to capture the different kind of learning, the different kinds of assessment and the different layers of negotiation that are needed between the three partners.

The contractual and practical dimensions of WBL partnerships sets up layers of politics and power relations manifested in new discursive practices centred on the co-production of knowledge that WBL awards necessitate. The conventional boundaries between theory and practice, between one discipline and another, between being a learner and a worker, between working and learning have become blurred and not surprisingly a site of contestation. Furthermore, as we have hinted already whilst existing boundaries are being dismantled, *new and different kinds of boundaries* are forming - boundaries that frame the work-based curriculum and the identity of the 'participant'. In other words, the WBL curriculum does not lead to a disappearance of boundaries, it is not de-regulated or unbounded, without any framing. Rather the framing is different, local and specific, certainly more complex, contested and fluid, and perhaps in some respects subtler.

A key feature of WBL partnerships is 'flexibility'. Indeed flexibility in both process and content is an important part of its appeal for both the organisation and the learner/ employee. Yet flexibility has to be located within a bounded space. As indicated above, learners and their organisations are asking for boundaries but importantly also it is in the interest of the academy to re-construct boundaries within an educational framework that maintains higher education 'standards' at the same time as providing a text and practices that make explicit the educational parameters within which WBL partnership awards are negotiated, organised and assessed.

This new space of learning - work as the curriculum - is being bounded by a number of institutional responses including now the development of a Capability Framework which will, it is hoped, maintain university 'standards' and provide some definition and shape to the notion of socially distributed knowledge. The Framework is important not just for the university but also for the learners who look to the university for clear explicit descriptions that will guide the complex task of negotiating individual learning programs. Its purpose is in effect to provide boundaries, in the form of descriptions of cross-disciplinary learning outcomes that can frame educational decisions about the nature and quality of learning.

Without boundaries?

We have used the metaphor of space and the concept of socially distributed knowledge to explore the different positioning that now 'place' learning and learners in the contemporary moment. By drawing on the distinction between culturally concentrated and socially distributed knowledge (a distinction which itself is not unproblematic) we have argued that the increased significance of the latter, a changing space of knowledge, does not result in a displacement that creates an unbounded pedagogical space. A space is indeed created but it is not unbounded. The boundaries are certainly different — perhaps more fluid and permeable. There is a greater emphasis on relationality and flexibility. There is prescription of sorts but it is not located in disciplines. These are boundaries that make a space for the contingency that characterises the interactions and new relationships that are forming in new sites and modes of learning, and through the ongoing negotiation of new learning arrangements.

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Challenging the Corporation : critical perspectives on workplace learning

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Introduction

The mainstream literatures on workplace learning/training and development remain largely characterised by an uncritical acceptance of dominant paradigms of training and management, which tend to presume as unproblematic assumptions about the nature, purpose and practice of training and learning in organisations, and which fail to challenge such issues as organisational power structures. These dominant paradigms have occupied a central point in the discourse on lifelong learning, which tends to make few distinctions concerning purpose and practice between adult education, training in the workplace and training for work. Government policy concerned with lifelong learning may espouse values such as social inclusion and learning for citizenship, but the economic imperative has tended to dominate policy initiatives, and training policy and practice in both workplaces and educational institutions continue to be dominated by a narrow vocationalism.

The currency of lifelong learning, the learning society and learning organisations throws up opportunities to open up the debate about the nature and purpose of workplace learning and to work towards more expansive and creative responses. This paper discusses whether there are opportunities in the changing nature of the workplace generally for developing new perspectives on training practice, which, as well as focusing on the development of individual competence for work, allows space to challenge dominant organisational ideological assumptions and practices. Does the notion of organisational learning open up any possibility of a shift from a perception of training as the process of domesticating the flexible worker (Scied et al 1997) into the notion of education in support of human agency? The paper explores how critical perspectives can help us to construct an analysis and develop new epistemologies of practice in training and development.

Management - technical rationality and consensus

Throughout the range of management disciplines represented in the academic and popular literature on human resource management (HRM) and training and development, there remains a consensus on the meaning of management. They view management as a universal, instrumental process that comprises a number of technical functions carried out by the impartial professional. Management practices are deemed to be universal and free from the influence of time and context. Established priorities and values in organisations are assumed to be legitimate, and the politics of managerial work are marginalised. Realities of power, differences and conflicts of interest that are rooted in deeper social divisions such as gender and ethnicity and the nature of the employment contract are ignored (Alvesson and Wilmott 1996:11, Reynolds 1997, Garrick and Rhodes 1998:90).

The genre of business texts characterised by writers such as Tom Peters, which present a picture of the new 'knowledge workers', here been particularly influential in the context of human resource development (HRD) and training. Lankshear identifies a common 'story line' running through these 'fast capitalist texts'. 'Old capitalism' (based on mass production, 'Fordism', hierarchical organisations, routinised work) is being replaced by the 'new capitalism' (based on design, production and marketing of high quality goods and services). In these organisations there is an emphasis on active knowledge and flexible learning, characterised by teamworking, an entrepreneurial emphasis, fast project work, collaboration, active problem solving and learning in context. Corresponding changes in organisational structures mean flatter structures and delayered management. Front line workers are transformed into committed partners, engaged in meaningful work, having greater control over their jobs, supervising themselves. The vision extends beyond the domain of management, to one of new values, new social purposes and practices. The new capitalism is leading to a more meaningful, humane and socially just - though more stressful - workplace. (Lankshear 1997:85-7). The argument that higher skill levels and greater investment in training and education are the key to better company performance and increased national competitiveness has been well rehearsed (Ashton and Felstead 1995, Keep 1991). The facilitation of organisational learning has been embraced as the answer to the uncertainties of contemporary organisational life and to the management of change (Garrick and Rhodes 1998:174). The guiding view is that global competition requires greater labour market flexibility, of organisational learning as central to the process of economic change and the need to promote economic competitiveness. The promotion of lifelong learning since the 1970s by national governments, political parties, employers and trade unions has been largely framed within this discourse of economic competitiveness (Edwards 1997:11- 13, Butler 1997).

But behind this seeming consensus on lifelong learning lies a range of different discourses through which the terrain is constructed, contested and challenged. 'Within the discussion of lifelong learning we have the discourses of learners, lecturers, managers, policy-makers, academics, professional bodies, employers, trade unions, awarding bodies, think tanks, journalists and commentators' (Edwards 1997:13). But not all discourses are equal. The power embedded within them seeks to construct certain discourses as more valid, 'truer' than others. The rhetoric of 'empowerment', 'self-directed learning', 'creative thinking', obscures the fact that the dominant discourse on organisational learning is driven largely by a view which stresses the inevitability of the need for the flexible worker within the knowledge based economy, emphasising technical rationality to the exclusion of other ways of thinking (Edwards 1997 :21).

Critical perspectives on management and human resource development

A new disciplinary area of 'management learning' has begun to emerge in the academy, concerned with management education and development, HRD and training and development, and the study of informal managing and learning processes. Within this, there is a literature which seeks to take critical perspectives on management and learning in the workplace, to encourage questioning of social, organisational and political processes, challenge dominant paradigms and open up new ways of conceiving of issues such as power, knowledge and control in organisations.

Critical perspectives provide a way of examining whose interests are served by the organisation of work, how knowledge is constructed, what counts as 'truth', and the significance of difference, gender, culture, and processes of privilege and prejudice. They can make explicit the assumptions, values and beliefs underlying management methods and approaches. Those areas excluded from the debate can be included, and those included can be examined, assumptions overturned and the possibility of multiple interpretations opened up. The application of critical thinking 'engages in an extensive consideration of the intellectual coherence, moral defensibility and historical sustainability of management theories and practice' (Willmott 1997:163).

Boot and Reynolds (1997:18) argue that due to a lack of a sociological perspective, management development has become particularly prone to popularised models which are often much simplified versions of more complex ideas. Areas such as groupwork are particularly prone to the use of models of organisational processes such as team role profiles, which fail to acknowledge the complexities of organisational life. In addition, influential theoretical perspectives can predominate and serve to obscure alternative sets of ideas being considered. Experiential learning theory, for example, presents a coherent ideology which incorporates theoretical frameworks to explain the learning process, and a set of values and beliefs about how people should learn. These ideas systems accumulate a core of teachings which then become the point of reference for debating theoretical or operational differences. The fact that they present an essentially individualist perspective, and the possibilities for a more contextualised, social or political point of view are not explored (Boot and Reynolds 1997:95).

The ideas of Foucault have been used to provide new understandings of organisation processes through the analysis of power, politics, knowledge and control in organisations. HRM or personnel

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has traditionally approached power from a technicist perspective, presenting HRM simply as tools or instruments designed to enable the effective achievement of goals. Foucault's conceptions of power and knowledge can reveal how mechanisms of power in organisations are simultaneously instruments for the formation and accumulation of knowledge (Townley 1994:5-9).

Using Foucault, Deetz examines how new mechanisms of control have emerged in the new 'knowledge-based' industries. Work groups in these organisations have high levels of autonomy and self-management, characterised by professional codes of practice rather than standardised products. This reduces the legitimacy of managerial control, reducing what Foucault called 'sovereign' power. As a result, in place of authority relations and direct supervision, most control is 'normativef' carried out via group processes, standards, culture, shared values. Vision statements, company images and active socialisation programmes are control processes, representing 'technologies of power' in which employees (and managers as employees) engage in active self-surveillance and self-control. Training and development assist in this process. But whose interests are really served by this self-management? Workers 'consent' to arbitrary institutional arrangements as if they were natural and incontestable - the workplace may be more stressful and insecure but this is seen as inevitable and part of processes that benefit employees through more satisfying work and control over their work (Deetz 1998:152-9).

Foucault's work on knowledge/power can provide different ways of conceptualising the development of individual skills and knowledge in organisations. Training is not simply a decontextualised process whereby individuals are facilitated to learn. Townley highlights how personnel practices actively create analytical divisions within a workforce. Individuals in organisations are constructed and known through being made an ëobjectí of knowledge and a target of power. 'A Foucaultian analysis of the individual subject does not, therefore, assume an uncovering of a given essential identity of skills, abilities and personality traits. Rather, its focus is the processes involved in rendering the individual knowable' (Townley 1994 :12).

A postmodern approach of deconstruction also focuses on the perspective not of behavioural action, but in the domain of interpretation, knowledge and language. Behind the rhetoric of the learning organisation lies the fact that only some types of learning in organisations will be viewed as legitimate learning. In a narrative where learning is seen to create social value through promoting organisational competitiveness, 'good' learning is learning that will lead either directly or indirectly to business success. In this equation, the only legitimate learning is that which results in commercial benefits. This process of legitimation masquerades in a narrative where learning is the creation of social value, but in fact uses business criteria as a way of deciding whether a particular activity is, or is not, learning (Garrick and Rhodes 1998:176-9).

The language of the 'new capitalism' incorporates such terms as 'empowerment', 'self-direction', 'self-directed learning', 'partnership', 'collaboration'. These are word that carry positive connotations and name ideals to which people who embrace different - and often incompatible - aspirations, purposes, interests and investments claim allegiance (Lankshear 1997:90-91). When words such as these become embedded in a discourse of economic competitiveness rather than one of adult education their meanings become transformed. In the new business world workers are asked to think and act critically, reflectively and creatively. But this emphasis on critical thinking does not extend to criticising the goals of the organisation itself. Notions such as 'empowerment' illustrate a central paradox in the new capitalism. 'What sort of 'freedom' and 'empowerment' do workers have if they cannot question the 'vision', values, ends and goals of the new work order itself?' (Lankshear 1997:87-88).

Critical workplace learning - theory and practice

Theoretical perspectives which provide different ways of making sense of management and the organisation of work provide a starting point for the development of critical practice in workplace learning. The ontological and epistemological assumptions which work to privilege particular modes of thought must be examined. As Chia argues, 'Both the management of organisations and the organisation of managerial discourse mirror each other, replicating and reinforcing the wider system

of dominant values and prevalent symbolic systems characterising a particular socio-historical epoch. This reciprocal relationship has not always been readily acknowledged, nor has its consequences for management theorising and education been adequately explored' (Chia 1997:72-73). A critical learning theory is concerned with both enhancing individual competence to act on the basis of self-reflection, whilst also maintaining the importance of interactive learning and collective action (Welton M 1995 :36).
A number of different approaches have been developed, particularly in the area of management learning. An extension of Argyris and Schons (1974) well known argument for the 'reflective practitioner', suggests that management education and training should focus on the cultivation of the critically reflective practitioner, which would involve managers in thinking questioningly about their roles and their responsibilities and the purposes and social consequences of the organisations that they work for. This is qualitatively different from the concept of critical thinking found in most management education, which is concerned more with making judgments and evaluating options.

The critically reflective practitioner, as well as attempting to understand his or her practice at the level of descriptive and interpretative theory, would seek to recognise the moral and ethical choices involved, and to relate practice to broader contexts - economic, political and social - in an interrogation of 'preferred' interpretations of practice (Burgoyne and Jackson 1997:66). This resonates with Mezirowfs distinction between operational and structural critique. Operational critique involves reflecting upon how to solve a problem within a given structure, for example, an economic system; structural critique involves reflecting critically on the structure itself (Mezirow 1995:46).

Action learning has provided a starting point for a number of developments. Willmott argues that traditional action learning does not provide a theory to help understand the contradictory forces and power relations that structure the very organisation of managerial work, and that the critical study of management must go beyond simply identifying power differences or noting that these have been constructed. 'In addition, it must address the legitimacy of these differences and explore the potential for changes that can challenge practices and ideologies through which established exploitation, oppression and subjection become institutionalised' (Willmott 1997: 167-171). He proposes an approach of Critical Action Learning, which combines a pedagogic philosophy of action learning with critical traditions. A related concept of 'action inquiry' seeks to incorporate an approach of action learning to promote 'organisational transformation', by shifting from a problem-solving approach to one of 'inquiring', integrating systematic research into the organisation with personal development. Tosey and Nugent (1997) describe how such a process helped to transform the management team of a failing small manufacturing company to think creatively about strategy and change the way they related to one another to be more supportive, caring and challenging.

The voicing of alternative ways of viewing issues in organisations is often marginalised, suppressed or pathologised. For example, the concerns of individuals who are critical of newly introduced working practices may be dismissed as their inability to adapt to new ways. Deetz argues that the critical workplace educator should seek to act on, rather than simply in, present institutional arrangements, and cultivate 'voice' as a way of opening up discussion about issues that apparently need no discussion. "'Voice' is the presence of active resistance to consent processes. 'Voicing' opens both the corporation and individuals to learning through reclaiming differences and conflicts overlooked or suppressed by dominant conceptions and arrangements" (Deetz 1998 :159-69).

However, there is a paradox with notions of introducing critical thinking into many organisational learning contexts. The notion of the critically reflective practitioner may not sit very well within the McDonalds and the Disney corporations of this world. The rhetoric of the learning organisation may mask the fact that it 'focuses on control, the maintenance of orthodoxy and the suppression of difference' (Garrick & Rhodes 1998 :177). For real learning to take place, learners need to engage in dialogue and contention around the grounds for the claims they are presented with. 'Such dialogue, however, is deeply problematic in the setting of the new-capitalist business where loyalty, commitment, and critical thinking, as well as allegiance to 'core values', are at bottom economic strategies for the business's benefit in a global hypercompetitive marketplace' (Gee, Hull and

Lankshear 1996:103). Designing curricula and teaching which seek to cultivate real critical thinking in such a setting is bound to be fraught with contradictions.

The domain of management learning may be a space where conflicting purposes and values within an organisation can be examined and non-standard thoughts given some legitimacy. Equally, 'deviant' thoughts may be exposed to surveillance, monitoring and control in the way that Foucault suggests. 'The management learning arena lives, arguably, in continual tension between being the place in which organisational revolutions of thought and practice can be formulated between people and the space in which incipient revolution can be spotted and suppressed by dominant coalitions supporting current unitarist agendas' (Burgoyne and Jackson 1997:61)f. Additional challenges are presented in considering critical approaches with workers at lower ends of organisational hierarchies, whose work may be more highly routinised and training opportunities more prescribed. But within the rhetoric of the learning organisation lies a possibility for space to open up organisational processes to minority or low-power voices.

One can see a particular relevance for such ideas to learning within the public and voluntary sectors. The social purposes of public sector organisations, reflecting values of democracy, citizenship, justice and equity (Stewart 1992:31) provide challenges for managers of public services; they also provide a different learning context to private sector organisations which exist solely for the pursuit of profit. The context can provide legitimation for the introduction of a pedagogy incorporating ideas of dialogue, equity and critical enquiry, as well as critical perspectives being introduced to provide frameworks for managers to examine managerial practice and issues.

Conclusion

Policy and practice in lifelong learning and the learning organisation emphasise an impoverished model of learning situated within an unproblematic view of organisational life, which ignores issues of power, difference and the politics of knowledge. The currency of the learning society open up the possibility of more creative responses, to challenge rhetoric and expose contradictions. There is a need to interrogate existing theory on management and organisational learning from a critical perspective, and develop new theory to provide a ground for critical practitioners to develop practice in the education of adults both in and for the workplace. A critique of the contribution that training plays in reinforcing dominant values needs to continue to be developed. Approaches to practice can be developed which challenge orthodoxies and seek to create conditions for dialogue and critical thinking.

Burgoyne and Reynolds argue that engagement with critical perspectives is crucial to organisational learning. 'The struggle with it can be argued to be management learning's most important contemporary project' (Burgoyne and Reynolds 1997:12). It is certainly an important aspect of the discourse of lifelong learning and an area that merits greater attention by critical educators concerned with workplace learning.

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The uneven impact of globalisation in the context of the developing world: the uneasy position of adult education

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Paper presented at SCUTREA, 29th Annual Conference, 5-7 July 1999, University of Warwick

This paper represents a brief reflection on the impact of globalisation on one emergent nation state committed to a policy of economic 'development' and integration into the world economic order. For a considerable time South Africa has been considered as the key state in Southern Africa for the expansion of economic activity, partly on account of its relatively developed infrastructure and human resources. The re-entry into world trade was also accompanied by a wave of emotional support based on the final achievement of political liberty within the country and the promise of equitable treatment of an openly oppressed majority. It is argued that South Africa represents a typical case study of the material impact of international economic relations on an emerging country and the direct impact on educational provision in general and adult education in particular.

The characteristics of economic globalisation have been enumerated often enough (Casanova, 1996, Holland *et al*, 1998, Leys, 1994, Walters, 1997), but in the case of South Africa these features have to be negotiated in the context of a country still awash with the rhetoric of liberation and empowerment. The need to square the ideological circle has been acute and at times not particularly successful. However, firstly it is necessary to briefly outline the orthodox assumptions concerning globalisation. It is assumed as capitalism re-orders on a world scale that nation states are placed in a position to compete for inward investment of resources that are no longer geographically specific, finance capital having been 'liberated' to move anywhere at high speed courtesy of electronic systems. Consequentially, many nation states are essentially placed in the position of creating suitable conditions for capital accumulation. The impact of resultant policies on broad legislative programmes is fundamental as public expenditure on welfare and development services is often considered a diversion of resources away from the key areas of economic investment. Such approaches lead to the reduction of state activity and the reliance on the free market to produce economic resources and efficient administration to guarantee the well-being of the state and its citizens. In many ways this is a parody of the neo-liberalism of the Reagan-Thatcher era: however, the underpinning assumptions still have a strong hold in many sites and the policies adopted by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund still appear to underpin these fundamental claims.

It is also assumed that as technology and that global distribution of production increases there will be an increasing pressure to compete for those aspects of commodity production where the optimum value is added to the product, whether that be in the form of goods or services. It is this aspect of the discourse that brings education to the centre of the debate, as it is frequently claimed that the key to future economic prosperity will lie in human rather than material capital. It is not intended to consider the accuracy of this claim here but it is suggested that this assumption, if not exactly hegemonic, carries enough weight to deeply influence educational policy world-wide.

In the case of South Africa the most significant shift since 1994 has been the introduction of *Growth, Employment and Redistribution: A Macroeconomic Strategy* (GEAR) (1996). Reformulating many of the key themes of the ANC's blueprint document, *The Reconstruction and Development Programme: A Policy Framework* (1994), this economic policy has been openly attacked as neo-liberal and a retreat from the principles underpinning much of the struggle for freedom (NIEP, 1996). Praised by the international agencies GEAR has seen the financial support to key welfare provision seriously cut back to the point of virtual extinction in some areas. Simultaneously, harnessed to this economic stringency has been a mass of educational reform that draws directly on international orthodoxy on the importance of human capital theory. In the avalanche of legislation over recent years have been bills dealing directly with the provision of schooling, the re-organisation of further education and training and the introduction of a levy system that obliges industry to provide a percentage of its wage bill to fund training. The nature of these fundamental changes reflects directly the ideological features associated with globalisation.

Before considering the changes in detail it has to be said that there is a major skills problem in South Africa. A comparison with similar 'middle-income countries' revealed that only 3.7% of South Africans work in the highly skilled professional sector compared with 7.8% of populations in comparable countries, and 12.4% work in the craft and trade sectors compared to 18.3% in comparable countries. It is not suggested that skills create jobs but there is a clear issue for a country attempting to modernise if the skill base is low, although even the latter claim might be contested.

The centrepiece of educational reform has been the introduction of a new curriculum for schools (Curriculum 2005) which is set within a national framework of qualifications (National Qualification Framework), which is intended to include all educational awards and is to be regulated by a central agency (South African Qualifications Agency). Those familiar with the establishment of the National Council for Vocational Qualifications in the United Kingdom will appreciate the similarity of response to the dominant discourse. Perhaps the most striking feature of the new policy is that it is couched specifically within a rhetoric of lifelong learning and, importantly for adult educators, draws schools directly into the same framework as all other providers. Central to the whole system is a reliance on outcome-based models of learning, driven by assessment and reliant on highly flexible resources. While this approach has drawn some stinging criticism (Jansen, 1998, Kraak, 1998) it is a logical model of learning for theories of lifelong learning drawing on the dominant paradigms of human capital theory with its emphasis on the flexible worker and the need for constant adaptation. At the time of writing all awards, including those in higher education are being re-formulated to meet the new national requirements to 'fit' into one of eight levels of complexity and in modular format. The system, which draws heavily on work already completed in Australasia and the United Kingdom, is intended to provide a seamless system for citizens to learn throughout life. As expected there are also all the attendant features of accreditation of prior learning, transferability of credit, and a move towards workplace-based learning. In short South Africa has adopted and adapted a model of education developed and established in the advanced economic countries. Whether such a policy could be avoided, or whether it constitutes the most appropriate approach to the situation in South Africa is beyond the scope of this paper, but the issue of transference of social policy approaches from the developed to the developing world has been the subject of continuing controversy in both practical and broader cultural fields.

If globalisation tends to be producing uniformity in educational approaches on a world scale, it can also been accused of invading indigenous cultures and warping or totally replacing them with consumerist lifestyles (IRED, 1997). Although more sophisticated analyses tend to suggest that current forces within capitalism tend to both massify and particularise simultaneously (see Harvey 1989), the retention of the component ethnic and cultural elements has been a major issue for a government which came to power to rule over a 'rainbow nation'. This is best seen in the constitutional right in South Africa to be taught in a language of choice, and communication media go to great lengths to try to meet the demands of eleven official languages. A concern for the erosion of the multi-cultural nature of the country has become a key rallying cry as the nation prepares for its second democratic election. The whole issue of identity and difference is being entered into and is of crucial importance in a nation state struggling for a 'new' identity, and aiming to lead an 'African Renaissance'. However, there is beginning to be seen the possibility of promoting ethnic identity in education at the cost of the students' potential in the established labour market, and there is a definite recognition in many areas of a dual economy largely defined by race. The acute social problem is articulated around the fact that the promotion of ethnic identity may well actively exclude participants from the core economy, and become an ideological mask for stratification (Naidoo, 1999).

Before considering the issues for the education of adults, it is helpful to comment on the way these features of globalisation are playing out in practice. Firstly, there is an enormous gap between the rhetoric and the reality of practice. It is commonplace to find glaring examples of failure to deliver in practice the letter of legislation, and it has almost become a national pastime to expose the failure of government to deliver on its promises. To some degree the reasons for this can be found in an as yet ineffective infrastructure staffed largely by inappropriately trained personnel, and this feature raises two more important factors. Firstly, it may be that what is being observed is quite simply the complete inability of a system to deal with change on such a massive scale. The South African parliament has passed a multitude of Bills in its first full session and it could be argued that the state has itself contributed to the breakdown of delivery. No system could handle such scales of reform. The government has simply tried to do too much. Secondly, it has to be noted that the public spending squeeze that has accompanied the GEAR policy has meant that there have been few resources and very little staff development to help cope with policy shifts. A case study from adult education underlines the situation. In 1998 it was announced that there was to be a major re-organisation of adult basic education and training (ABET) on a national scale. The Department of Education produced the impressively named *A National Multi-Year Implementation Plan for Adult Education and Training Provision and Accreditation* and a briefer *Policy Document on Adult Basic Education and Training*. A highly structured arrangement for national and provincial bodies to develop ABET was outlined and a specific retraining strategy to introduce the new outcomes-based education was launched. Since the publication of the documents basic education provision has gone into steep decline with the collapse of two key national agencies and the implosion of provision made by the non-governmental sector. The field is now openly in turmoil and recent research suggests that the level of provision for the most deprived communities is actually no higher than when the National Party government left office (Aitchison *et al*, 1999b). In respect of preparing field staff for the fundamental tasks of introducing the new curricular forms government chose to use a basic ' cascade' model to disseminate competence. Current research suggests that the exercise has been a virtually total failure with teachers reverting to traditional forms of literacy teaching (Lyster *et al*, 1999).

The above example is not intended to belittle government's attempts to meet what is after all a constitutional right of all citizens (RSA 1996) but to illuminate the problems of introducing radical social policy without the economic or human resources to make it operate successfully. Matters for adult educators are exacerbated by the fact that government is expecting industry and commerce to become more active in meeting ABET need, which introduces another irony into current policy. As state and NGO provision dips company-based schemes have proportionately increased as a proportion of overall work, and it is assumed that the level will increase further as employers seek to spend their obligatory training levy. However, it is now becoming apparent that, because of the glut of labour, companies are recruiting at skill levels in excess of those required for the occupations - at once 'upgrading' the levels of competency of staff and divesting themselves of the problems of ABET. Such policies have a logic within the broader human capital debate, but leave the most needy with even poorer prospects of support.

An outcome of particular importance to adult educators is the impact of current policy on the organisations of civil society. For many years civil society was a site of intense struggle to promote the liberatory needs of a range of oppressed groupings within the nation. Since liberation the number of organisations has dwindled and there is an increasing international expectation that the state will assume the functions of the defunct organisations (the case of ABET is typical). This means that the channels for enabling the full range of voices to be heard within society have reduced markedly, and there is a sense in which this was inevitable as a result of the African National Congress's campaign to bind the nation and to speak for all groups (see Marais, 1998). The result has been a marked reduction not only of overall activity and diversity of voice, but above all dissent (Wallis, 1999). The decline in the levels of non-formal education is marked in all areas but may be of particular importance in the rural areas. Equally important has been the fact that many of the leaders in the NGO and Trades Union sectors were co-opted into government after 1994 leaving organisations without some of their most influential voices.

One issue that faces all nation states as capital re-orders is the future form of work and the extent to which the assumptions lying behind current responses to globalisation are actually addressing the critical issues. Unemployment in parts of South Africa is at frightening levels with little in the way of welfare support. The contradiction arises that if we are moving beyond Fordism and the 'big' employers are gone, and evidence exists to show that despite some economic growth manufacturing industries are shedding jobs, where will the work come from to soak up the surplus labour, however well trained? Like many other states South Africa is urging educators to foster entrepreneurship, to the extent that it is an element in the national curriculum (Department of Education, 1997). However, the small, medium and micro-industries that are promoted so forcibly are unlikely to be the answer. Evidence from current practice suggests that the support needs of such initiatives are impossibly intensive.

The above discussion refers to only a few of the direct impacts of globalisation, the question remains concerning the response of adult educators to their context. Firstly, there is the simple issue of survival. Perhaps unsurprisingly what remained of the university extra-mural provision has virtually disappeared, and there appears to have been a rapid change in university-based student profile as the NGOs and CBOs contract as donor funding declines. This last point is extremely important as the politically committed nature of many of the organisations directly affected the nature of the curriculum offered. Survival now might best be secured by embracing the technicist elements of adult education and engaging with the practical issues of developing the mechanisms for the establishment of the new qualifications framework, or supporting industrial boards in struggling with the demands of competency-based awards, workplace assessment and the rest. For example, in the case of the University of Natal, work is underway with the maritime and textile industries to develop standards and train trainers, work that is now outstripping that with 'traditional' clienteles.

It must be repeated that there is a real need to develop working people in South Africa, but the critique is that such a discourse has displaced almost any other approach to the education of adults. Even in the key area of the education of citizens, the debate is largely reduced to technical issues of information transfer rather than more challenging areas, even though there is evidence emerging that the democratic system is being thwarted by a failure of the population to fully understand the complexity of their social circumstances (Wallis, 1999). This leads to the consideration of what possibilities might remain for the radical traditions of adult education.

Universities and some NGOs clearly retain a degree of independence and there is evidence of some opposition to a government policy which seems to be condemning the poor to yet more deprivation in respect of educational provision (Aitchison, 1998b), although the official response has been both negative and openly aggressive. Despite the apparent continuity of inequalities as the impact of economic policy bites, the rise of a new black middle class may yet provide the 'evidence' to shore up the ideology of technical modernisation and meritocracy. It may be that class will rapidly become the primary means of analysing persistent social inequality. In such a context there seems a clear demand for adult educators to engage with contemporary social issues, although at the time of writing only a few distant rumbles within the Trades Unions indicate a ready site for radical work (Lambert, 1998). This last point underscores the fact that the incorporation of key agencies of civil society into the state has deprived educators of their 'natural' points of contact for work openly committed to critical analysis of current policy.

The challenge is to form and strengthen new alliances with the dispossessed, and the possibilities of working with women's groups and some organised sections of the rural poor may provide the way forward. Certainly, such groups who struggled hard during the apartheid years have not seen their material conditions improve markedly and may prove open to an education beyond the immediately utilitarian. Also, a few organisations still survive committed to radicalising the consciousness of the poor, such as the Freire- inspired Umtapo agency in KwaZulu Natal.

Finally, in reference back to the broader cultural politics of identity and consumption, there is a strong recognition that the homogenising effects of globalisation must be resisted, but it should be repeated that ethnic identity in South Africa has been used to actively dividing the poor. The apartheid construct of the national 'homelands' is perhaps the most obvious example of this tendency, but the manipulation of the 'Zulu nation' by the Inkatha Freedom Party under the direction of Buthulezi is perhaps the most blatant contemporary example of this feature. Suffice it to say that the whole issue of identity in the 'rainbow nation' has to be treated with immense care.

In reviewing these features of the conditions of South Africa as it seeks to come into the international fold economically, it becomes clear that not only does globalisation bring an orthodoxy in terms of state policy and fiscal strategy, but it also brings powerful ideological and social policy correlates. The description above must resonate with countries as different as those in Europe and South America. It may be that the human capital, utilitarian discourse has not yet reached the level of hegemony, as there has been continued criticism, but there has been far less promotion of alternative ways forward. Perhaps the challenge to adult educators is to support the pragmatic developments already underway and to seek out ways of rendering them capable of generating critical citizens capable of challenging an orthodoxy that cannot produce the outcomes for which so many had fought.

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Understanding meanings of distance in face to face and on-line adult learning

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Time and distance: the issues of retrospection and prospection

New communication and information technologies have challenged notions of locality and proximity. For example, time and distance have new meanings when one uses asynchronous communications such as email or gains access to libraries and other information resources through the Internet. One consequence has been that a third generation of distance learning based on these communication technologies has been developing which is being portrayed as a solution to many of the structural barriers that adult learners experience (Halal and Liebowitz, 1994; Laurillard, 1993, McConnell, 1998). These include: a restricted time for study; the lack of courses at times that fit around employment or caring responsibilities; geographical distance from centres of learning; lack of transport or financial constraints; and a desire to study at local centres. This paper examines these propositions by discussing the findings of an action research study which sought to introduce networked learning into a part-time degree delivered by a University continuing education department.

The paper analyses the students' and tutors' perceptions and experiences of networked learning, and shows a diversity of voices. The paper discusses the finding that in this case a particular culture has developed and come to dominate the notion of effective learning in the 'face to face' classroom, and that this includes the need for trust, the sharing of experiences and the notion of the presentation of an authentic self. The paper considers the implications of this dominant discourse on students' and tutors' perceptions of on-line learning, and for their ideas of what makes good practice in the on-line environment. The case study involved students and tutors of a Women's Studies degree, and so, it may not be surprising to find that their ideas of effective learning on-line should chime with those advanced by advocates of feminist pedagogy (Weiler, 1995) suggesting that there has been a 'spill-over' of identity as they managed the crossing of the boundary from face to face learning to that of on-line where notions of time and distance are disrupted.

In addition, the paper explores the way in which educational action research that utilises the biographical interview to review experiences has a tendency to produce a progressive story. Contradictions are transcended through a process of collaboration and reflective practice in which the researcher as practitioner and the researched as co-producers of explanations of the transitions in which they are participating, co-operate in producing a coherent and rational account. As the practitioner-researcher my story will show that the accounts of the students and tutors (including myself) define successful on-line learning in terms that draw on their existing ideas of effectiveness. The methodology facilitates this. Coherence is encouraged by asking students and tutors to reflect on their experiences of the classroom and of using an email discussion group, and more specifically by talking to those that eventually completed a module in Feminist Theory through on-line learning and teaching. This last group identified themselves as on-line enthusiasts and they consistently invoked connections with their previous learning selves. In other words, their accounts displayed what Shutz (1967) has argued is a 'retrospective-prospective sense of occurrence' which is a device that people use to produce order from their flux of experience. Stronach and MacLure found a similar tendency in their work on life stories, and accounts of the transition to becoming an action researcher showed the following:

> They involve a retrospective search for the prospective significance of events and decisions,

> in which the seemingly innocent temporal relationship between past, present and future is compounded and displaced. (1997:126)

However, alongside my research story which found coherence and connections between the face to face classroom and on-line identities I found some gendered and age-based differences of perception about the value and organisation of on-line learning, and in particular of an email discussion group, and so two key questions emerged. The first question was about whether a learning practice that acknowledged differences could be designed and be acceptable to all, and secondly, how the story about this development should be constructed to capture the social and gendered relations of power that informed the negotiations between the practitioner-researcher and practitioners and students in introducing on-line learning. Marginalised voices were identified from the one male student and from an older female student, both of whom argued that learning on-line would be enhanced by anonymity and fluidity of identity. Again, Stronach and MacLure (1997) may have an argument that helps to make sense of these competing accounts for they suggest that interviewers and interviewees should consider other ways of telling their stories which would resist resolutions to the problem of safely getting across boundaries, and allow for a being of 'in-between-ness'. It is with this in mind that I attempt now to tell the story of action research in which the notion of what makes effective on-line learning for students and tutors of Women's Studies is presented as an *un*settled account of 'hybridity'.

'Once upon a time': the rationality of narrative accounts

> Relying on 'unadulterated voices' is fundamentally a decoy for an extended version of dis-stance and ventriloquy. Voices are as Scott would contend, both "an interpretation and in need of interpretation" (Fine, 1994:21)

Qualitative research where traditionally the emphasis has been on naturally occurring data and lived experiences has been experiencing a crisis of representation and legitimation influenced by post-structuralism and other critical approaches including feminism (Denzin, 1997). The epistemological authority of the researcher as the knowing author who can capture the real meaning of events and experiences has been questioned, and the power dynamics of the research process in which accounts have been produced need to be examined. In this case, in which the author/researcher (myself) is both the course director for the Women's Studies degree, and so, has both a managerial position in relation to the collaborating students and tutors, to state that the voices need interpretation is a truism. Yet, I emphasise this point because some of the phenomena studied, the asynchronous on-line communications which cross the boundaries of time and place, are even more fluid and slippery than many of the face to face communications that form the nub of qualitative accounts. The dis-stancing nature of the media permits authors and receivers to play with time and space and disturb people's interpretations and the ad-hoc devices that we use to display our presence and identities. For example, Argyle (1996) writing about the dilemma of not knowing how to make sense of an email that posted a message about someone's death said through this media one can change the landscape, rewriting the history of what had been.

My concern though is that in many studies of educational technology and learning this fluidity of meaning in computer mediated communications is played down in accounts that stress a rational story of progress towards greater democracy and social equality. For example, in the Further Education Funding Council's response to the Government's Green Paper 'The Learning Age', (1998) they argued that the technology will help all adults realise their potential so long as the issues of cost and access to the equipment at a local level are resolved. No consideration is given to the meaning of the communications that would follow from the use of information and communication technology (ICT) for learning. Indeed, others suggest that an apparent absence of social cues in ICT, and the disruption of time and distance provides the explanation for more egalitarian communication styles on-line, and is evidence of social equality (Hardy et al, 1994, Kiesler et al, 1984, McConnell, 1997 and Sproull and Kiesler, 1993). These are studies which have observed and analysed transcripts of on-line discussions, measured the quantity of turn taking, numbers and lengths of postings and subjects discussed and by whom, interpreted the style and form of the postings and compared these analyses

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the perceptions of those who wrote the messages. In other words, these are carefully constructed triangulated accounts of 'what has been going on on-line' working within a realist /modernist paradigm. Similarly, my story began in this way the only difference being that the data were generated in action and that during this process, I and the students and tutors sought to share our sense-making of the implications for learning of communicating on-line as we engaged in this activity.

Women's experiences of on-line learning: version one, the rational story

> 'Web based learning would have some very positive aspects, particularly for Women's Studies. Being able to communicate on a national and maybe international basis with other women would inevitably increase one's knowledge of the experiences of women from very different political, social and cultural backgrounds...One could make links with feminist organisations which are actively seeking to eliminate sexist oppression, build up relationships with groups and organisations one would not come into contact with during a regular course' Isobel, (Women's Studies student, focus group 1)

> 'Direct communication is a vital element for Women's Studies as far as I am concerned...The lack of unspoken communication or body language would be a main drawback to discussion involving the Internet/email...although it could be with someone you know, lack of physical proximity would make it difficult. Talking with other students you didn't know would either make a false familiarity or a stand offishness exemplified by academic language (and all political correctness).' Teresa, (Women's Studies student, focus group 1)

Two different and conflicting versions of women's experiences of cyberspace can be identified in these extracts from the focus group discussions conducted for the action research. The first view is optimistic and the second is more pessimistic, although in some senses they reflect opposite ends of a continuum, and they echo the dichotomies of the literature about the Internet. On the one hand there is a story about the Internet that shows it as a liberatory and empowering technology, in which its origins in military technology and the political strategies of powerful nations have played a part in the diffusion of centres of control and regulation. The way is open for the creation of global communities that could recapture the spirit and efficacy of traditional societies (Rheingold, 1994). Feminists such as Donna Haraway, Sadie Plant and Sherry Turkle have developed these ideas, and emphasised the radical possibilities for women posed by the fluidity and construction of multiple identities through computer mediated communications, and they have valued the anarchic tendencies of the Internet to undermine existing power structures. Turkle (1996) has suggested that the medium encourages a bottom-up or a more intuitive approach to learning, what she calls 'soft mastery' or 'bricolage' which she regards as more in line with a female style of interacting (and here she is influenced by Belenky et al, 1986, who argued that there are distinct women's ways of knowing). At the most positive end of this continuum of stories is the so called cyberfeminist Sadie Plant (1996, 1997) who sees opportunities to dissolve all forms of identity on-line, and who has sought to rectify women's invisibility by celebrating women's contribution to the construction of the computers and the Internet. Haraway, (1991) similarly does not see a basis for conflict between machines and people but rather advocates that we become 'cyborgs'.

Many of these optimistic arguments are grounded in feminist theories and parallel the discourses of feminist pedagogy. This is because, they focus on the experiences of women, and challenge received knowledge, in order to "move away from the acceptance of disciplinary knowledge as objective, impartial, and neutrally discovered" (Kramarae and Spender, 1993:1). From the outset such challenges have had political and transformative overtones, and so one concern for feminist teachers like myself working to develop a Women's Studies curriculum within formal education institutions has been whether or not the Internet can create a space for women as well as increasing our knowledge about women. Within the traditional face to face classroom this has commonly been termed 'finding a voice', 'claiming a space for ourselves' or 'rendering women visible' (Madoc-Jones and Coates, 1996:3). Within this feminist pedagogy women's experiences have been valued as resources for learning, and as a consequence learning through critical reflection about the diversity of women's experiences has been central, and intrinsically bound up with the development of their agency to change their lives.

On the other hand, at the beginning of the action research a minority of the students from the three different sites expressed 'disinterest, annoyance and fear' at the idea of Internet based learning. In part these students seemed to be aligning themselves with the view that the Internet is an anathema to feminist principles and practices, and they stressed the need for the following:

> 'It is important that the Web site 'voice' is not seen as being in charge of the subject and directing what needs to be discussed. It would not be feminist to maintain there is one feminist perspective or a hierarchy of acceptable perspectives.' Teresa, (Women's Studies student).

This more pessimistic story highlights and supports a perception of the male construction and dominance of the technology, and the lack of public and free access which affects women disproportionately (Balka, 1993). Other features of this story concern the problems associated with sexual harassment, pornography, and gender swapping that may discourage women's participation (Shade, 1996; Spender, 1995), and so the liberatory possibilities of computer mediated communications (CMC) are uncertain. Further support for this story about women's low participation on the Internet draws on the well documented differences in the communication styles of women and men off-line (Tannen, 1991). Similar differences have been identified in on-line discussion groups where men have been shown to dominate on-line postings and been more likely to use 'report' talk, while women have been shown to use more 'rapport' talk (Herring, 1994; Ferris, 1996; Pohl and Michaelson, 1998).

However, somewhere between these competing stories a third position emerged during the research which showed how individuals' stories changed through interaction with others. My reading of the following extract from a focus group shows how these students who have studied together in face to face classrooms 'persuade' each other that trust can be developed in email communications by using what they call 'chit-chat', and that through this their learning will be enhanced.

Initially caution is expressed,

> 'I find I think you are going to lay yourself wide open--its the vulnerability aspect of it whereas in a group situation like we have over a number of weeks and months we've built trust up between each other, we know who we are talking to I can say whatever and I don't think you are going to take it outside these four walls. But if you are actually sending e-mails and everybody is reading it and you don't know who you are sending it to and you don't know whether that person is going to be trustworthy or honour your feelings and respect your feelings and that's my worry'. (Jackie)

This is countered by a suggestion about how to build social presence and trust on-line:

> 'But maybe chit-chat (the social chat on-line) is a way of leading you in...'(Chris)
> (to a) 'maybe a deeper friendship, deeper relationship' (Joyce)
> 'You don't immediately plunge in, (in classroom discussions) we didn't immediately all bond together instantly and say this is good.' (Anne)
> 'No, No' (chorus)

Finally, comparisons are drawn with the experience of the face to face classroom and the way that trust was developed there and it led to a consensus that this was the way to make on-line learning effective for Women's Studies students,

> 'We had to get to know each other and maybe that chit-chat is e-mail's way of getting to know each other, I think we have to give it a chance, you know this is modern technology, it is a thing of the future that we should be embracing.' (Chris)

An interesting feature of this discussion is the way in which these students have transferred their understanding of the norms of the face to face classroom into an expectation of the ground rules for participating in on-line learning. For these students and for the tutors, having an authentic social presence on-line is considered essential to the building of trust, and this underpins their ability to share experiences which they regard as central to their learning, as the following illustrates,

> 'To some point I think personal experience can play a large part in adult education...I think sometimes in Women's groups, in consciousness raising or whatever you do feel confident to bring in aspects of what happened to you in your past or whatever, that can actually be a benefit to the whole group's learning experience because you realise that maybe you've had a very privileged life, or maybe your life's been even worse, and you understand different people's perspectives and histories but if you don't feel comfortable on the internet doing that you wouldn't bring that into it.' (Anne, focus group 2)

This account also contrasts with the literature about democratic participation on-line which has argued that it is precisely the lack of social cues that promotes equality (see Sproull and Kiesler, 1993 for example). When looking at the topics which were discussed on the email list over a six week period in which about 30 women participated, the content was very wide-ranging, and showed how the new technology can facilitate activities well beyond the walls of the academic classroom. In these ways it has fulfilled some of the expectations students have voiced in the focus groups, for further research and scholarship aligned with feminist activism, and some began to consider themselves 'cybersisters'. For example, discussions have included the following: personal exchanges, with chat about home-life, family and domestic matters, likes and dislikes, TV programmes, and anxieties or concerns for the future; exchanges about resources and research interests or opportunities which have included the exchange of URLs and the posting of hot links; the exchange of information about feminist activities and conferences; and political or conceptual debates about issues arising from the Women's Studies courses. Within these exchanges there was much evidence of 'rapport' rather than 'report' talk. Personal information was disclosed and support offered when experiences and worries have been shared. Their social presence was signalled by the regular use of personal pronouns, and frequently, discussion was qualified and bounded by the use of phrases such as 'I think', 'I feel', and 'I was wondering'. In other words, it typified what Tannen (1991) has described as the hedges often used by women. In addition, these hedged comments seem to have promoted interaction because they have been 'read' as questions which required an answer rather being merely understood as a presentation of opinions. These styles have been further encouraged by the ways in which they have copied each other's messages in their replies, and responded often line by line to each others ideas. As a consequence the form of communications that have been constructed have been highly interdependent and relational, and this has been confirmed by focus group discussions and interviews even with those who have only read the messages and did not contribute on-line, because they have said that they still felt they were part of the conversation.

In contrast, within the Feminist Theory module, which was delivered to just five students studying at an outlying rural centre some differences emerged which began to raise questions about the typicality of 'women's talk' on-line. Two types of messages were common: one was very focused on-task and on the activity and learning required for the module; and the other was to do with the operation of carrying out the learning task, in other words, it concerned technical matters such as whether or not internet sites could be accessed, or issues to do with managing one's time to learn. Further differences between these discussions and the email list were found in the form the messages took in that the on-task messages by students showed fewer modal qualifiers and personal pronouns. In other words, they were more like writing than speech, whereas the on-task messages by tutor showed more personal pronouns. Interestingly it was the female tutor who made greater use of possessive pronouns giving structure and order to asynchronous talk and seemed to suggest both through this way of posting messages and in her interview account of her role, that she was writing in a speechlike way to appear informal and encouraging and was operating as a discussion chair rather than just writing. In contrast it was mainly in the task operation messages that student as well as the tutor used personal pronouns, and made many rapport comments, and more off task comments or 'chit-chat' in the way that they had in the email discussion list.

So, what does all this mean? The voices have changed over time and have been different in different places, in the face to face classrooms, the email discussion list and in the feminist theory on-line discussions. nevertheless, in the interviews students and tutors displayed a coherent story in which they described the importance of the following: situated discussions; embodiment; construction of trust; authenticity of presentation of self; acknowledgement of difference; deriving learning from sharing and comparing. These were features that they considered to be crucial to the face to face environment and that effective learning on-line required these to be transposed to this new space. In other words, the media itself, ICT, would only help adults such as these overcome structural barriers to learning if some of the dispositional barriers are addressed by building in ways for learners to get to know each other. Such an analysis provided a neat story, in which feminist pedagogy appeared to be operating within the Women's Studies Classroom, and in attempting to develop new modes of learning and teaching, new ways had to be found, through action research, to transpose this 'successful' practice to the new environment.

Women's experiences, version two of the story: a paradox is recognised

So far, the rational story has shown how through action research and reflection those women students who initially resisted the development of learning on-line, were encouraged by the more enthusiastic and in the course of discussions and participation in on-line activities the resisters, sceptics and fearful also became enthusiasts. In shifting from the negative to the more positivist position though they all retained their view that to learn involved sharing experiences with others and this could only be done with those with whom there was trust. In the face to face classroom this was achieved through getting to know each other and on-line other means through social chit-chat were required to mirror such embodiment and social presence. In other words, these students and tutors agreed with the claim made by Yates (1997) that ICT carries social markers and they sought to make these explicit in their interactions in order to develop the trust needed to share experiences.

However, two students (one female, one male) perceived that feminist pedagogy on-line would be enhanced by the following: disembodiment; non-situated meanings; social distance; spatial distance between people in the same physical location; and an absence of many social cues such as appearance, age, voice but there were gendered differences in the strength of these views. There were gendered differences in the two perceptions and the female wished to reinsert authentic gender social cues, whilst the male preferred anonymity, multiple identities, ambiguity. For example,

> 'I think its more important to people such as myself being a more mature student that people will talk more openly to me if there is that distance between us, if there is a barrier, they can't see me they don't know what I look like they don't know how old I am and I think that makes a difference to the way that they'll speak to me and the subjects that they discuss...' (F)

> 'The Internet, to be able to sit in front of an anonymous screen provides a hell of a lot of confidence that is missing in any sort of social interaction that you have... but the reason I think both of us like the idea of the Internet thing is because you are so distant you can be ambiguous, it's not just the gender thing or an age thing but one women (sic) to another regardless or idea to another set of ideas.. that's all that's being pitted against each other.' (M)

Some concluding remarks: the hybrid story

Adopting a less rationalistic approach to the analysis of these accounts would provide more space for the marginal voices and provide a less settled reading. This would acknowledge that ICT is a social construct in which electronic communications disturbs the notion of subjectivity but recognise that it does this it different ways with different people. For some there is a need to link mind and body, while for others 'the body is no longer an effective limit of the subject's position' (Poster, 1992:15). Indeed, it would recognise that much writing about 'on-line' identities which is based in the assumption that a lack of face to face cues leads to some form of radical post-modern 'free play of identity' (Yates, 1997) which might suit some adult learners. However, for the many that have comfortably adopted the precepts of adult learning and feminist pedagogy, the media will always be regarded as a carrier of some kinds of social markers and as learners they will not feel enabled to fully participate unless their sense of authentic self can be acknowledged. Although the students who became confident cybersisters engaging in discussions of feminist theory on-line may have dropped the signifiers of a 'women's style' of talking, when they became engaged in their module discussions, they retained their belief in the value of trust and the need for a safe space in which to play with identity. The *un*resolved hybrid story is a way of telling these multiple tales and acknowledging that some may always play it differently and some may play it differently at different times.

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Finding space for the spirit: helping others to learn about spirituality

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Introduction

Continuing professional development is important for all health care professionals and compulsory for the continued registration of some. Karpiak describes a number of teachable moments in the continuing professional development of social workers (Karpiak 1992:53). Teachable moments most often arise in times of struggle or crisis and provide powerful stimuli to learning. The environment of palliative care can provide such a teachable moment for spirituality for both health care professionals and their clients. Members of a co-operative inquiry group described how working in this environment had challenged them to consider spiritual ideas in ways they had never done before (White 1998). Members of the group, including the author, met regularly to reflect on their experience of spirituality. The benefits experienced within the group encouraged us to explore ways of providing similar opportunities for colleagues. Based on this exploration, the author has developed a training module on spirituality in the context of palliative care. This paper will discuss the development of that module, focusing on its context, its essential themes and the pressures upon it.

Finding a space to learn

The spirituality module is provided within a framework of training established by Manchester Palliative Care Education Forum (MPaCE). This is a new body formed by ten palliative care providers in the Manchester area. Its intention is to provide palliative care training which emphasises clinical skills and multi-disciplinary working. Training will be provided by experienced practitioners who value working therapeutically (Lawther and Cawthorn 1998). The forum developed from a concern to bridge the perceived gap between theory and practice in local palliative care education. Most local training in palliative care is university based, providing a route for practitioners to acquire formal qualifications. Such training is lengthy and expensive, limiting access for many staff. While drawing on the expertise of local practitioners, course content and organisation remains firmly in the hands of the university and validating bodies. Although they value such training, service managers had expressed concerns that it did not always result in changes in practice. Meanwhile, responding to demands from colleagues, local practitioners were running occasional non-validated courses on more clinical aspects of palliative care. With no central co-ordination there was a danger that too much attention was paid to some topics while others were neglected. MPaCE fits in between these two positions, keeping their courses workplace-based and practitioner-led but linking to a local university for support and accreditation. While the validating university has supported the planning and development process, course management remains in the hands of local practitioners. As different palliative care providers have worked together a comprehensive range of opportunities to develop clinical competence in the palliative care field has developed. All sides gain in this pioneering development of educational space. Experienced practitioners lacking formal educational skills get help with developing and evaluating courses; students gain a comprehensive, standardised pathway through which to develop their clinical skills plus credit for their learning; the validating university gains a novel but comprehensive educational pathway; the wider palliative care community gains practitioners with improved clinical competence plus recognised qualifications.

Initial funding has been secured for administration and tutor support until the course is established. Eighteen modules are now available on topics ranging from coping with breathlessness to communication skills. In addition a core module has been developed on the therapeutic relationship which all participants are encouraged to attend. Modules use a basic framework of 11 hours teacher contact, 11 hours reflective practice and 11 hours directed study. The MPaCE course is open to any individual working in palliative care, although individual modules may have specific entry requirements. All modules include an assessment of the skills gained by each participant. Support has been provided by the university to help tutors identify these key skills and decide how to assess them. The emphasis on clinical expertise is matched by an emphasis on multidisciplinary working, with tutors from different organisations and professional groups working together in many modules. The course thus provides both an opportunity for health care professionals to learn together and a model for the multi professional palliative care team. Participants can gain accreditation for their work (up to 40 CAT points at level 2) through a number of routes depending on their requirements. The course can also be used as evidence of continuing professional development as required by professional bodies.

Initially, practical concerns prompted linking spirituality training into the MPaCE structure. I was already familiar with its structure and requirements through my involvement in the planning group. Many palliative care courses now provide a little input about spirituality but co-operative inquiry group members were conscious of the benefits of a more prolonged exploration of the subject, both individually and in a group. It was harder to see the relevance of MPaCEÕs focus on skills in an exploration of spirituality. Something so individual and hard to define seems at odds with the concept of developing practical skills. A key theme in our own discussion had been that providing spiritual care is more to do with *being* than with *doing*, more concerned with human relationships than any particular task. This fitted well with the concepts of the core module on the therapeutic relationship but was harder to define in terms of specific skills. Despite these doubts, I began to explore the development of a module within the MPaCE framework. Other co-operative inquiry group members contributed to the initial planning of the module, although none were available to act as facilitators. The essence of the spirituality module is for participants to become more aware of their own and other people's spirituality and to locate this within a theoretical framework. It gradually became clear that skills such as reflection and assessment are an invaluable part of the provision of spiritual care. Reflection is a key element in competent professional practice and provides a common thread throughout all the MPaCE modules. A large body of literature now exists about the use of reflection in continuing professional development, not least that produced by SCUTREA members (for example, Miller and Jones 1993). Reflection also has the potential to play an important part in spiritual exploration, challenging participants to examine ideas that are often taken for granted, both their own and other people's. Group reflection adds another dimension, offering participants an opportunity to explore each other's varied experience and ideas, perhaps particularly important in a subject as personal and individual as spirituality.

Creating a safe space for exploration

National Health Service guidelines now place spiritual care on the agenda for health provision (National Health Service Management Executive 1992, National Association of Health Authorities and Trusts 1996) while themselves showing some uncertainty about what spirituality is! Research suggests that many health care professionals lack confidence in their ability to recognise and meet spiritual needs (Simsen 1985, Ross 1994). Perhaps linked to this, a regional survey of health professionals working in palliative care showed that there was considerable demand for education about spiritual issues (Multi Professional Education Group 1998). Our own co-operative inquiry group had left participants more confident about their ability to recognise and respond to spiritual concerns raised by clients as well as more aware of their own spirituality. Time to explore these issues with other people in a safe but challenging environment had been a key factor in this process. We hoped that if other staff were given this opportunity they too would become more able to recognise, and even encourage, exploration of spirituality by their clients. Our experience in the co-operative inquiry group had shown the importance of personal exploration occurring in parallel with an exploration of relevant literature. Echoing the co-operative inquiry group, the aim of the spirituality module is to enable participants to explore their own spirituality with a view to how that informs their work. The first three sessions of the course will focus on the nature of spirituality, with opportunities to brainstorm participants' ideas and input from tutors summarising key themes as well as plenty of discussion. In the two final sessions, the emphasis of the module shifts from definition to assessment and provision of spiritual care. A number of key references will be provided for participants to read and reflect on during the module.

During the course of the co-operative inquiry group, we reached a shared understanding that spirituality exists as a potential within each human being. We also came to recognise, not least because we saw it within ourselves, that spirituality can grow and develop given the appropriate support and environment. Creating a safe space for this personal exploration is a vital part of the spirituality module. Physical space for group sessions is provided in a comfortable room at a local cancer support centre. Although within the working environment, it is not a room in everyday use, cultivating a sense of detachment and ensuring that sessions are not overheard or disturbed by other people. For practical reasons, the first course is being offered at the end of the working day (17.00-19.00) but this has the added benefit of being relatively quiet and less prone to interruptions. Ten minutes at the beginning of each session will be kept free, with drinks and biscuits available, to create a space between work and study. We hope this will provide an opportunity for participants to greet each other and ensure that each session starts in a relaxed way. The course content is spread over five sessions, encouraging participants to reflect between sessions and relate what they are learning more directly to their work. This should also allow the group to become established and for trust to develop between tutors and participants and between group members.

Alongside the physical space, tutors hope to establish a safe psychological space where participants feel able to question and to explore their own concerns about spirituality. Much health professional training has emphasised the cognitive and technical aspects of learning, although this is changing with increasing interest in reflective practice. Despite the new emphasis on reflection, in the busy atmosphere of health care provision, it is not always easy to discuss personal experience, particularly difficult experiences. Beyond these day to day professional concerns, spirituality itself remains hard to articulate in words. Personal spirituality is not often discussed in society generally and people may be reluctant to talk openly about this complex area. With this in mind, the first session includes time for group members to set their own ground rules and for discussions about confidentiality and mutual respect. There is also time to emphasise the need for personal exploration, with tutors demonstrating this by talking about their own experience of spirituality. It should be clear from the beginning that although tutors have useful knowledge to share, they do not have all the answers. Indeed, there may not be answers to the questions raised! In addition, we want to ensure that time spent considering theoretical understandings of spirituality does not squeeze out time available for discussion of issues arising directly from personal experience. Participants will be encouraged to keep a reflective journal for the duration of the module which remains their own personal property. The first session of the module will include time for participants to start the process of writing in their journal in the hope that this will help them make what some find a difficult first step. Each session of the course will then begin with a time of open discussion when participants can raise their own concerns, questions or comments about spirituality, drawing on their reflective journal if they wish. We will also provide a bulletin board where participants can share articles, press cuttings or other materials which they feel are relevant. The final session will include an opportunity for group members to reflect together on the process of the module and time for them to officially conclude the group process.

Hay suggests that aspects of human behaviour that are preoccupied with profound questions of existence, such as spirituality and religion, occupy the transitional space described by psychologists as existing between fantasy and reality. Hence, although the roots of spirituality lie in the physical world, its articulation necessarily draws on the creative imagination (Hay with Nye 1998:46, 51-52). A training module that is encouraging participants to articulate ideas and feelings about spirituality could helpfully include an exploration, if not actual use, of creativity, symbol, story, metaphor and ritual. One of the key papers to be discussed by participants concerns the use of language and metaphor, another suggests ways of using creative activities in palliative care. Stanworth (1997) notes that the Greek root of the word symbol is to connect, a common theme in ideas about spirituality, certainly one discussed at length by the original co-operative inquiry group. Participants will be encouraged to explore the use of poetry, pictures and symbols to make spiritual connections in their personal reflection and in group discussions. Telling our own story is an important part of spiritual exploration as individuals endeavour to make sense of their life experiences. Our emphasis on reflection and personal experience should engender this aspect of spirituality and the group will focus on it more specifically during the final session. Perhaps the pattern of each session (gathering over a drink followed by open reflection together which leads into more directed exploration and a concluding activity) will even develop a sense of ritual!

Pressures on spiritual space

Questions about how and why we should teach spirituality parallel concerns about how and why we should provide spiritual care. Spirituality stands somewhat apart from current concerns within health care. There is a suggestion that it lies at the heart of effective holistic care yet it remains undefinable. Current policies, particularly the drive for evidence based practice and audit, tend to emphasise the measurable. Audit of spiritual care does exist but has focused on measurable activities such as documentation, need and assessment (Catterall, Cox, Greet, Sankey and Griffiths 1998), when spiritual care is often intangible and outcomes are unknown. The dominance of scientific method, the increasing technicality and the sheer workload of modern health care may lead to a neglect of spiritual concerns. Participants will spend time discussing whether it is appropriate to spend time on such seemingly ephemeral issues and on how to do that within the real confines of their work and organisation.

Participants may need to relearn how to relate to clients on a human rather than a purely professional level, a key aspect of the core module on the therapeutic relationship as well as the spirituality module. Participants also need to recognise the potential difficulties involved in relating to clients in this way. The co-operative inquiry group had expressed concern about simply making spiritual care into an additional task. Module tutors are also concerned that participants do not feel that they are now equipped to do spiritual care as though it were indeed simply another task to be completed. Rather we want them to gain a sense that spiritual exploration is part of being human, potentially a source of strength as well as of pain. Palliative care places health care professionals alongside vulnerable human beings trying to make sense of their own lives and facing an uncertain future. Having explored their own and other people's thoughts and feelings about spirituality we hope participants will be more self aware and more comfortable with these issues when clients too wish to explore them. As with all MPaCE courses, tutors will be fellow health care professionals, well able to understand the pressure participants face at work. Being prepared to stay with people in this way does not have to be separated from everyday work and activity. Rather it adds a therapeutic dimension to the most mundane task. If spirituality is about who we are rather than what we do, tutors and course participants, heath care professionals and clients become fellow travellers, exploring issues of spirituality together. The module aims to demonstrate this underlying sense of equity by valuing each person's contribution and encouraging a sense of mutual learning and support. Yet boundaries do exist between tutors and participants particularly as tutors mark assignments and facilitate the group. This echoes concerns about boundaries between the health care professional and client and will be discussed within the group.

The module has to balance the needs of the participants with the needs of palliative care providers and of the validating institution. Although good value, MPaCE modules cost money and funding by employers may be limited despite accreditation. The lack of clarity about what spirituality is may make it difficult for employers to recognise its role. Participants also need to be able to show that individual modules are relevant to their work. While there is a growing recognition that the wider multidisciplinary team plays a role in spiritual care, it is by no means certain that this will guarantee funding or support for training. In addition, our module emphasises personal exploration of spirituality. Employers may not see this as something which they should support, either with time or money. Ultimately such exploration should benefit the institution but that may be hard to recognise amidst other pressures on funding. Participants on the module are likely to come from varied backgrounds as MPaCE modules are open to anyone working in palliative care (including volunteers). Two tutors are working together to facilitate this module; one is a nurse, the other a dietitian, one works in a hospice and the other in the community. Interestingly, neither tutor is a chaplain, the people usually seen as the professional providers of spiritual and religious care. This brings a variety of personal and professional experience to our input and may help demonstrate our conviction that spirituality is the concern of the whole multidisciplinary team. Tutors have had to learn to work together, just as the group will have to, particularly as only the author was a member of the original co-operative inquiry group from which the course has developed.

The MPaCE framework emphasises skills and includes an element of formal assessment, as required by the validating university. Two skills have been agreed as an essential part of the spirituality course. Focused in the first part of the module, one is the need to reflect on a key article in the light of personal experience. The other, focused on the second part of the module, is the need to complete a simple assessment of spirituality with a trusted colleague or client. The ability to reflect on personal experience and to recognise spiritual concerns are certainly important but I remain uncertain whether these are the most important skills required or that they will be adequately assessed by this process. Other attributes, such as growing confidence and awareness, are perhaps more important but less measurable. Spirituality seems too subtle to be pinned down and tested in this way, dangerously close to becoming a task after all. Even within these two simple assessments it will be hard to evaluate what participants produce. Inevitably, what is learned rests on participants' subjective understanding. For tutors to say whether this is correct or not is contrary to our ideas of learning together and valuing each person's experience. In the end, we have decided simply to confirm that participants have submitted each piece of work. The framework of a validated course in some ways hampers learning, although it undoubtedly focuses the material.

Conclusions

Providing space for the spirit seems an invaluable part of palliative care. Based on our own experience in the co-operative inquiry group, we have developed a short module to enable people working in palliative care to focus specifically on this area of their work. Despite only being a five week course it provides a rare opportunity for people working in palliative care to learn together about this complex aspect of being human.

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